

THE
DEMOCRATS
BATTLE DESPAIR

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A PAIN IN THE BACK

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Are Helping To Ease A Nearly
Universal
Problem**





Ultimately, there's Black.

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE SEPTEMBER 20, 1995 VOL. 184 NO. 39

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COVER

A PAIN IN THE BACK

Back pain is among the most common and baffling afflictions known. Eight out of 10 Canadians suffer at some point in their lives. Many find little relief from established treatments. Some keep problems in check with exercise programs. But a new therapy that does not involve surgery is quietly building a reputation as a major advance in treatment for lower-back pain.

—33

BUSINESS

BLACK GOLD ON TAP

A year after Ottawa, Newfoundland and four oil companies agreed to proceed with the \$3.3-billion offshore oil project, the project is beginning to generate jobs and business activity. Still, few people express confidence that Alberta alone will bring prosperity to Canada's poorest province.

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WORLD

THE DEMOCRATS BATTLE DESPAIR

Populist Iowa Senator Thomas Harkin declared his presidential candidacy—the third Democrat to enter the 1993 race. But even in his home state, Harkin faces tough odds. And beyond that, there is the prospect of going up against the enormous popularity of Republican President George Bush.

—34



LETTERS

PUBLIC-SERVICE TURMOIL

I am sick and tired of the Public Service Alliance of Canada complaining about how hard-line its members are. "Mainwavy vs. the union," Cover, Sept. 28. Canada is \$460 billion in debt, the economy is at a standstill, and they must be holding the populace to ransom. I work for a small business, and this year I will not get a raise. Indeed, I am grateful to have a job when so many people are out of work. It is time for much's members to look at how easy they really have life.

Jerry Lewis,
Barnett, Ont.



Striking civil servants "sick and tired"

comes about who is picking up the tab. Without his cocked-glass to inspect, what would Poth write about? My God, he might be forced to act like a real journalist and cover real events.

Clare Ho,
Parliamentary Press Gallery
Ottawa

The PSC strike concerns about 125,000 public servants who were effectively denied their legal right to collective bargaining. During its term in office, the Conservative government has drastically decreased the number of public-service employees and has provided wage increases less than inflation. These measures, the government contends, are imperative to reducing the burgeoning deficit. But the reality is that the government continues to shy away from giving its lowest and unsatisfactory employees the mounting government expenditures. Instead, it has sought to exploit in the public mind a poor image of public servants in an effort to place some of the fault for our soaring deficit.

Charles P. Moore,
Kawartha

I am fed up with both management and unions and workers of Canada Post Corp. ("Pothable turned," Canada, Sept. 18). They must collectively accept responsibility for the present state of affairs. Even if Quebec's Chief Justice Alan Gold, the mediator, should be able to pull off the impossible, what happens when that agreement expires? It is time to lay up to the fact that the post office is an anachronism that has outlived its usefulness. It should be allowed to strike itself into oblivion.

Best Poth,
Mississauga

PICKING UP MILA'S TAB

As Ian McEwan's account rises of attacking Mila Maloney "because she acts as something other than a housewife" ("The vicious circle of Canadian conservatism," Canada, Sept. 18). He writes that I would let her "look having someone answer the phone and mail envelopes." Poor Poth. He needs either a vacuum or remedial reading lessons. Perhaps both. I certainly don't criticize his dear friend Mila, but not for having a mail and leaving her husband "familiar" as a full-time dad. It is that the Maloney's will not let the public have much at all costs. Perhaps too many years of cocked-journalism have made Poth to con-

THE LINDROS SAGA

I very much enjoyed your article about Eric Lindros ("Uncle Lindros," Cover, Sept. 31). However, so his reasons for not going to Quebec City to play for the Nordiques, I feel that you missed the point completely. You speak so much time talking about the political climate, the salaries and the business decisions that you fail to portray the true picture. Lindros is simply a very young, 35-year-old who does not want to leave his Toronto home, where he can continue to have the security and comfort of his family. He is not yet mature enough to go out on his own, so he hides behind rationalizations.

Pina G. Molnar,
Edmonton

What a courageous young man is Eric Lindros. He says, "You don't see me calling for an end to fighting." I guess not. At six feet, five inches tall, and weighing between 220 and 230 lb., it must be pretty easy to think that "there is a place in the game for fighting." Finally, I am far more impressed with those hockey players who get by on courage and talent alone. They refuse that solita, by definition, do not get into fights.

Renard J. Roy,
Edmonton

PASSAGES

DIED: Award-winning journalist Warner Troyer, 59, of cancer, in Toronto. Troyer, who began his 40-year career as a street-smart announcer in Alberta, worked as a newspaper reporter, wrote seven books, produced about 200 documentary films and two film journals. But he was most known to viewers for his controversial work as away of Canada's most important public-affairs television series, including *This Hour Has Seven Days*, *W5* and the 5th estate. From 1966 to 1983, he edited with Glenn Moss, lived in St. Louis, where they helped to organize its national TV station. His most recent work was *The Canadiana* (Green Canadian's Guide), an environmental handbook.



DIED: Wilfred Cornett Lockhart, 84, first president of the University of Winnipeg, and moderator of the United Church of Canada from 1966 to 1968, in Toronto. Lockhart was principal of the small liberal-arts institution, then known as United College, from 1955 until it was chartered as a university in 1967.

DISCOVERED: Russian charges against Nobel Prize-winning Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn, 72, by the Soviet Union's chief legal officer. Solzhenitsyn won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1970. The Soviet government reported last in 1974 for criticizing communism. The writer said that he would return to his homeland, ending his 17-year exile in the world's most notorious zone of Gorkyville, after he finished a major novel on Soviet life.

APPOINTED: Toronto department store tycoon Fredrick Eaton, 53, as high commissioner to Britain, by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. The son-in-law of four brothers who succeeded the Eaton empire replaced former Liberal finance minister Donald MacDonald, who has returned to his Toronto law practice.

DIED: Former co-president of CTV news programming Donald Cameron, 66, of cancer, in his home town of Cornwall, Ont. Cameron was involved in the development of such programs as *83*, *Canada AM* and the *CTV News*.

DIED: Volodya Borok (Vladimir Frenkel), 59, of his home in La Crosse, France. His many awards and recordings included an exceptional range of compositions.



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LETTERS

CREATIVE MEDICINE

Diane Francis's Sept. 2 column, "Expensive and desperate myths," is a magisterial view of Canada's health-care system. She correctly neglects to address the increasing use of high-tech technology, excessive use of laboratory analyses and other expensive diagnostic and treatment techniques that are rarely evaluated for cost. Also, she ignores continued evidence that the majority of older people—between 80 per cent and 90 per cent—and relatively healthy and manage quite independently. Yet, we are demographically aging. Yet, this will result in an increasing health-care cost burden. But Francis ought to present the full explanation as a composite picture of youth and older age groups. Demographics can be managed reasonably well without undue preoccupation with gloom and doom.

Diane White and Jean Miller,
Calgary

I agree with Diane Francis that the problems of our health-care system must be more widely understood and discussed. But before we take any recommended solutions, we should examine the difficulties that these solutions themselves have engendered. For example, the problems of the elderly are viewed safely from a medical



Starnes in Toronto: 'insipid view of Canada's health-care system'

perspective, the costs are daunting. But Canada, like many other countries in the world, contains related pockets where creative solutions are being successfully implemented. In several Toronto, highly individualized services, specialized housing and the like have enabled seniors to stay in the community for significantly longer than they could elsewhere.

Judith Levin,
Executive director, Senior Link,
Toronto

'NO DOUBTS' ABOUT TESTING

We read your July 15 cover article, "The fight for life," with personal interest, as our family lost a child to Tay-Sachs disease three years ago. Our concerns are directed at two subsequent letters confirming prenatal testing ("A medical revolution," Aug. 19) is one. Dr. Philip Horner suggests that termination of fetuses with genetic disorders is done to avoid an own discomfort. In another, Heather

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LETTERS

Children-Pace wonders how Carol-Anne Sewacz's "two healthy children will feel when they are old enough to comprehend that had screening shown them to have Tay-Sachs, [she] would not have permitted them to be born." It is obvious that these people have had no personal experience with children with Tay-Sachs. Having watched our own child suffer, we have no doubts that it would be wrong to knowingly bring into this world a child doomed to a short life of suffering. We do not wonder, but know, that when Sewacz's sons are old enough to comprehend what their mother went through, they will admire her courage and be thankful that she never gave up hope.

Carol-Anne and Harold Sewacz, Marion and Jack Mole, Anne and Wolfgang Rector, Ashland Hill, Ont.

WHOSE CHILDREN ARE THEY?

I would like to ask Eugene Nagels, whose letter appears in your Sept. 2 issue, if she does not find it odd that, while her parent can look after three or four children, those same three or four children are unable to look after one parent ("Who is responsible?"). Considerable diseases and teenage angst, for example, do not become "irremediable burdens" for parents. They go with the territory.

Judith W. Phillips, Ontario

HUNTING FOR A MOTIVE

I read with absolute disgust Barbara Aasen's Aug. 26 column, "Death, politics and protected species." Shame on her for pursuing a hungry leopard for two hours. Double shame for calling the death of a black dog "tragic." Had she left the leopard alone, it might not have been hungry enough to attack a human. Next time you might try the Metro Toronto Zoo.

Susan Metcal, Port Colborne, Ont.

Not so long ago, I was "roughing" it in the Keweenaw wilds, "working up" the heat of a desperately hungry pack of lions. And while "Death, politics and protected species" did nothing to manage my guilt trips, it sensibly described the life-and-death struggle of proud nomadic tribes in a country inundated with guilt and corruption, tourism and rich expatriates, unethical foreign aid and healthy black markets. Prospective safari hunters, read and be educated.

Joan Conwayford, Ontario

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone number. Write Letters in the Letters-to-the-Editor department, Maclean's, 177 Ave. Rd. 177, Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7. Or by fax: 416-593-7778.



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MACLEAN'S SEPTEMBER 26, 1991

OPENING NOTES

The Trumps go shopping, Mordecai Richler ruffles francophone feathers, and Gary Hart gets caught short

A QUEBEC CRITIQUE

Montreal novelist Mordecai Richler's lengthy nomination as life in Quebec in the Sept. 23 issue of *The New Yorker* has touched some raw nerves in his home province. Richler is critical of the French-only language laws, which he describes as products of "a disconcertingly tribal society," and he writes about what he considers an inhospitable climate for anglophones. And although for the most part this article is true as the often overblown pen, at one point he refers crudely to the province's profile: "theirs of a few decades ago." Writes Richler: "This punishing level of repression seemed to me to be based on the assumption that women were cows." In *Devoir* publisher Line Blouin's attack back early in an editorial last week. Calling Richler's "revelings" "vitriolic" and "scurrilous," she condemned the American magazine for publishing the piece. While Blouin writes: "Can you imagine a white *Devoir* writer proposing to the *New Yorker* an article in which he refers to the black population as tribal? Would the editors touch it?"

Richler: an inhospitable climate for Anglos



Photo by David Laundy

Back together and back to school

Donald and Bea Trump dashed clerks and shoppers recently in Patuxent, Pa., 230 km northwest of Philadelphia, where the celebrated couple and their 34-year-old son, Donald Jr., went shopping at the local Kmart store. "They just walked in," said store manager David Sabin. "We were extremely surprised." While Donald Sr. signed autographs, posed for pictures and talked to people, Bea and Donald Jr., a student at Patuxent's exclusive 340-student Hill School, kind two shopping carts with school supplies and two coats. The 58, and owner Kimberly Kemp was about \$400. Fortunately, Trump, who has suffered some recent financial setbacks, was carrying enough cash to pay for the purchases. Said Kemp, who

had to tell Trump that the store does not accept American Express: "I was nervous, but they weren't snooty and apologetic at all."



The Trumps' attraction from Kmart shoppers

GIVING UP ON GUN CONTROL

Last year, the Los Angeles school board decided to expel all students who were found carrying guns on school property. But the board reversed its decision because too many offenders just wound up on the streets after expulsion. Board member Jeffrey Barnes said that the flip-flop merely recognized "the reality that when you expel a child from school, he doesn't disappear." Now, some gun-toting teens will be admitted to off-campus classes that provide greater supervision—giving new meaning to the term "exceptional students."

The true nature of Edmonton

When many Americans think of Canada, they think of snow-covered mountains and Christmas trees. Now, critic Mel Gussow of *The New York Times* has shown what comes to his mind when he thinks of Edmonton. Last week, in his mind review of the off Broadway opening of Canadian playwright Brad Fraser's dark drama, *Unidentified Human Remains and the True Nature of Love*, which is set in Edmonton, Gussow raved: "For a play that is so concerned with the omnipresence of its setting, it is curious that there is not a single mention of hockey, to outsiders the essence of Edmonton." He shouts, he screams.

MAKING AN HONEST MISTAKE

The New York City-based Doubleday Book Clubs may have been too influenced by the controversy that greeted Kelly Kelly's recent biography of former first lady Nancy Reagan. In its latest bulletin to Canadian subscribers, Doubleday features *Runy Runy*. The *Unidentified Biography* in its same section reveals that included Canadian mystery writer Jay Peeling's for *Just Run*—under a bold headline that says: "Review." Editor Gary Green, many prominent commentators, including *New York Times* columnist William Safire and syndicated writer George F. Will, questioned Kelly's research. He then suggested that her book was indeed more fiction than fact. For Susan Sandler, editor in chief for the book club's Canadian division, said: "It was in no way an editorial comment on Kelly's book, which is definitely nonfiction. The wrong headline was dropped in, and it should have just said 'second best-seller.'" But Sandler added that she appreciated the irony: "The only type to find the subject who did it," she said. "But I can't decide whether to laugh up ahead of it or be furious with whoever was responsible."



Kelly: questionable methods

Reasonable action



THE DEVIL AND THE TRUE-BLUE NORTH

Chief Miller has chosen the small town of Stewart, B.C., to its name. Two weeks ago, Miller, 21, who has lived in Stewart, near the tip of the Alaska Peninsula, for 2 1/2 years, requested that his church and real-estate business, The Embassy of Luther, be granted a business license and space on the sign outside town that lists Stewart's six other churches. The resulting controversy, Miller says, is unresolvable. Added the high priest, who acknowledges inflicting pain: "People have freaked out at the idea of socialism, but there's nothing evil about it." For his part, Aid. Russell Earl said that would grant the business license, but added: "There isn't a snowball's chance in hell that he's going to get the church's name on that sign."

A jump on history

When an accidental affair dashed his presidential hopes in 1987, Gary Hart turned to writing. Now, events have



Hart: more best thing

A Finnishing touch

The Finnish citizen I have finished a respectable tally in the recent Canada Cup hockey tournament that the Canadians won last week. And a little subplot: Toronto's hockey mogul Peter Hyland threw at the players after their first game against Team Canada, which ended in a 2-2 tie, may have spurred the action. After the game, Hyland, who makes in Finland, threw a party for the team. There, he invited the players to take the stage, where each one, joined a pretty young woman dressed in traditional Finnish costume. In the introductory ritual, Hyland accepted a traditional ceremonial salute from the Finnish-Canadian Chamber of Commerce. He signed the books, turned to the assembled players and announced: "I'd like you all to know that this young lady is my daughter, and she is only 14." He ended, "And she's got a big daddy with a big knife."

Hyland: brandishing a double-edged wit

overlaid his book, *Russia Shakes the World: The Second Russian Revolution and Its Impact on the West*, which he wrote before the defeat of the August coup. Hart dismisses Boris Yeltsin as a "charismatic naïf." He is more astute about the Baltic states, predicting that they will gain independence from Moscow "within a decade." A safe bet.

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COLUMN



The snakeheads and coyotes reign

BY DIANE FRANCIS

In Eastern Europe they're called ship-pers, in Mexico, coyotes, and in the Far East, snakeheads. These are people-smugglers who are paid to guide groups or individuals across borders illegally. Some advise their migrants where to find work or how to apply as "refugees" so they may stay permanently. They charge as much as \$5,000 a person. And because a lot of people are on the move worldwide to countries dominated at full speed economically. Some 158,750 refugee applicants are in Canada right now and are a multibillion-dollar financial burden to taxpayers. We're not alone. Despite tougher rules in some other countries, the foot soldiers worldwide in people risk their lives or spend their life's savings to improve their living standards. Mass migration, along with their trade partners, are manifestations of the continuing quest to redistribute the world's wealth.

Recently unrelated news events tell the tale. Albanians camp in a soccer stadium in Italy and riot when they are forced to return to economic chaos at home. The normally prudent Germans lead tens of billions to the bankrupt Soviet Union to keep the regime afloat, and prevent 4.5 million ethnic Germans, among others, from fleeing as they decamp the United States, with Canada in tow, courtesy of a free trade agreement with Mexico and fears that the current flow of 8.6 million Mexican illegal aliens each year will turn into a tidal wave.

Europe recruits a new version of the Iron Curtain. Instead of the Communists guarding their borders to keep people in, warring numbers of free nations are guarding their borders to keep people out. Last June, I went to the Austro-Czechoslovakian border to see the firsthand. Motorists crossing into Austria were assured of the politeness in a story told where two heavily armed Austrian soldiers stood. Their job is to search the woods for illegal aliens sneaking across the border.

"They are mostly Romanians and come at night," a soldier "We caught five last night. We don't shoot at them unless they shoot at us."

"They mostly come at night," a soldier said. "We caught five last night. We don't shoot at them unless they shoot at us."

That certainly isn't the case at the Mexican-U.S. border in Tijuana, where I spent a night in December. Of 12 a.m., hundreds of adults, children and infants waited for the border-guard shift change so they could flee, with their coyotes, across a one-mile no man's land to seek dignity in the United States. I didn't see any shooting, but at least one Mexican died each month trying to cross the U.S. border. Others are beaten. The Americans are not supposed to shoot to kill, but one year ago, an unarmed Mexican was shot in the back by a border patrolman. Then, there are the vigilantes in California who, receiving the constant offer, spray illegal aliens as the fleeing seek to enter the U.S. Officials can't more easily pick them up.

But they still come in droves. Unable to export their goods into rich countries—partly because of protectionism and slow-to-use liberalizations—they must export them—even to get ahead. The Mexican border situation is the biggest reason behind the free trade initiative in Washington. Unable to cross the flow, the United States has to give access to its market to keep Mexicans at home.

Similarly, the Germans—in with the most refugees of any rich country—limit the charge for liberalized trade and for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The biggest fear at Europe is that the Soviet Union will fall apart economically and Europe will be faced with an explosive migration of several million refugees each year. At the same time, Europe is burdened with continuing Third World immigration from former colonies.

United Nations refugee official Joao Wiegman has compiled the figures. "In the mid-1970s," he says, "immigration restrictions had been introduced all over Europe as a result of the economic recession that followed the oil crisis of 1973. And the post-war programs as a result of unbalanced Europe, since the early 1960s, came to an end." As a result, while there were only 25,000 asylum (refugee) applications in Europe and North America in 1973, there were about 150,000 in 1990. In total, there have been 2.2 million asylum applications in OECD states like 54 robust individualized contracts between 1953 and 1989, now accounting for one-third of the total annual immigration of foreigners to Europe and North America combined.

In these years, Wiegman adds, the flow of unvetted migrants will still be high. In Germany. Between 1983 and 1984, Germany has received more than 500,000 refugee applicants, France, 200,000. Sweden, more than 200,000, and try Switzerland, with seven million people, nearly 100,000. The United States received 300,000 refugee applications, and Canada, 158,750.

In addition, illegal immigrants to Canada comprise a pretty well-kept beach, compared with the Mexicans who stream across the U.S. border daily. Mostly Asians and Arabs, they pay \$5,000 or more to make heads to get them. Rights, like documents and provide information about the refugee application process. Once here, they are provided with apartments, low education and medical care, legal aid lawyers and most of the rights of citizens. The system does not work well and is costly. A number of cases have caused their deaths, and very few have been detected, including some organized-crime figures, say RCMP officials.

While our process should be tightened up, Canada and the rest of the world's rich countries cannot stop migration even if they try. Third countries must, despite huge financial resources, remove serious debts to wealthy banks. Free trade arrangements and the liberalization of General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade process should give priority GATT is still on the issue of agricultural subsidies by rich countries that have driven down prices to starvation levels, pushing farmers off the land. The paradox is that the poorer trade barriers come down and we share the wealth, the faster we'll retreat it. Poor countries can people cheap goods and thus, as they prosper, can provide new markets for our goods and services. The illegal and legal coyotes and snakeheads are doing a lucrative business—and forcing the world to reduce people will seek out their fortunes, wealth or starvation.



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A PARTY BOSS ON TRIAL

A TORY VETERAN
HAS FEW ALLIES
AS HE FACES
NEW CHARGES

In the border of his political career, when he dropped petro-geography in Quebec for two Conservative prime ministers, René LaSalle was one of the most colorful characters on Parliament Hill. Short in stature and scrappy by nature, he enjoyed a wide circle of associates and a reputation as a fiery warrior. But last week in Montreal, as the Conservative party's former Quebec lieutenant faced the corridors of a federal tax court, there was scant evidence of either tenacity or pugilistic spirit. For two days, LaSalle lingered, alone and forlorn, waiting his call to testify at a hearing involving several of his past intimates: "Everyone has abandoned me," he complained, a hint of emotion in his eyes. "Those who I helped most in the past, the ones who owe most to do not the most harm."

It was not a good week for the 62-year-old former public works minister, who retired from Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's cabinet in 1987 under a cloud of self-accusatory accusations of political corruption. On Monday, LaSalle appeared in an Ottawa courtroom, one of 16 political and police figures accused of wrongdoing in previously laid charges brought by Parliament Hill protester Glen Keshley. After this opportunity, only LaSalle was left to face criminal proceedings, on charges of defrauding a \$1,800 fee and conspiring to defraud the federal government. After the session, LaSalle waited to be "not guilty." The next day in Montreal, he began his tour outside the Tax Court of Canada while, again, poor friends and associates testified that he had received \$50,000 to establish a donor hold in his house in 1984, and another \$25,000 from a private party in 1985. Witnesses said that the money had been paid by businessmen seeking government favors. Strung outside the courtroom, LaSalle said "It's a real smear campaign, a plot."

LaSalle waits to testify: "Everyone has abandoned me"



Whatever the accuracy of the charges leveled against LaSalle, he is not alone in his plight. The accusations followed similar charges against another prominent Quebec Tory, Senator Michel Goggin. Only days before LaSalle appeared in the Ottawa court, the judge charged Goggin, a close friend of Mulroney's who co-chaired the Conservatives' successful 1986 election campaign, with influence peddling. The police alleged that he received about \$123,000 from Quebec industrialist Guy Monopie to help him in seeking large federal grants. Sent Goggin the next day "It was unexpected of the charges."

Both LaSalle and Goggin face possible prison terms if convicted. The charges against Goggin carry a maximum sentence of five years in prison. The senator is scheduled for arraignment in court in Montreal on Nov. 28, where he will indicate whether he wants a trial by judge or by jury. LaSalle's case is more complicated. He was the only one charged as a result of Keshley's affidavit, which also involved 12 other leading Conservatives and three senior members, past and present, of the Anti-Corruption Commission. The charges against all of the others are grandiose. Among those charged were Goggin, Sports Minister Pierre Gaudin, Montreal lawyer Bernard Roy and RCMP Commissioner Norman LaSalle. LaSalle's case, meanwhile, has been stayed for up to a year while the Crown and the Ottawa Provincial Police prepare for a trial. But if prosecution does take place, and if LaSalle is convicted, the little man once known around Parliament Hill and across Quebec as "Ti Kesh" (Little Redd) faces a possible 10-year prison term.

LaSalle may also confront additional charges as a result of the ongoing tax court proceedings. The hearing in Montreal is being held to determine whether former Tory MP Michel Goggin, once an aide to LaSalle, should be ordered to pay income tax on \$50,000 that he received at the 1985 party, and which he claims that he gave to LaSalle. Goggin pleaded guilty in 1984 to 15 counts of fraud and influence peddling among them a garden party he held in 1985 where contractors seeking government business paid an average of \$5,000 each to attend. LaSalle, who was public works minister at the time, also attended. Last week, Goggin told Judge Louise Lamer-Proby that he collected \$40,000 at the party. After deducting \$5,000 in expenses, he said, he gave the rest to LaSalle.

Another past intimate of LaSalle's corroborated Goggin's testimony last week. Frank Majors served as LaSalle's special adviser until 1987, when he was fired just before Mulroney's published a story revealing his 1983 conviction for assault causing bodily harm. Last week, he told the tax court: "I acknowledge that Mr. LaSalle told me he got \$25,000 from Mr. Goggin." In addition to that testimony, Majors also testified the accusation that another \$50,000 was allegedly passed on to LaSalle the following year as a result of a dinner celebrating LaSalle's 50th anniversary a political

LaSalle, scheduled to appear as a witness in Goggin's hearing on behalf of Revenue Canada, did not have a chance to testify. The hearing was adjourned until early next month after Keshley, who scheduled to testify, failed to appear. But outside the courtroom, LaSalle was obviously stung by the charges. Under official hostile, sometimes brutal questioning from reporters, he came close to losing his self-control on several occasions as he denied the accusations. "Several of them who have testified against me are people I have helped," he complained. "I find that appalling."

LaSalle's plight is certainly in marked contrast to the treatment he received as a powerful member of the cabinets of both Joe Clark and Mulroney. In those years, he served as the Conservatives' chief Quebec minister, largely because of his electoral success as a province where the Tories often did not fare well. He was first elected in his native Joliette riding in 1968 and, despite Pierre Trudeau's Liberal stronghold in Quebec, won every election until his retirement.

Always blunt, LaSalle made no secret of his use of the power that rested in his hands. "The Liberals invented corruption," he remarked in 1984. "So let me be forgiven if I have a little misgiving today for people who were punished too long." That attitude once served him well, winning him the allegiance of many political allies. But as the events of the past weeks have clearly demonstrated, the friends that René LaSalle forged during two decades in Ottawa may not be as solid as he once imagined.

BARRY CAHILL in Montreal

National Notes

A MILITARY REDUCTION

Defense Minister Manuel Manó announced his long-awaited defense policy review. It calls for Canada to close its two bases in Germany by 1995 and reduce its 8,500-member presence there to a mere tank force of 1,100 troops. The overall size of the Forces will diminish to 70,000 from 84,000, mainly through attrition. Still, defense spending will increase. At July in the annual budget, says an announcement, including a better allocation for Canada's C-130 fighter jets. Manó said that a task force will review the advisability of closing some Canadian bases.

A SEXIST SLUR

William Kennedy, Conservative MP for Burlington, Ont., apologized to Liberal deputy leader Sheila Copps after calling her "a slut" in the House of Commons. Kennedy first claimed that he said "put on his lip" the next day, after a talk with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, he told the House that "I lost my temper and said something I should not have said." Some female MPs said that the incident illustrated the sexism that still exists in Parliament.

BACK TO NORMAL

Traffic in Canada's largest city returned to normal after Toronto transit workers accepted a revised contract offer. The eight-day strike followed the union's controversial rejection of a tentative agreement because of a proposal to allow retired transit drivers to work on replacement drivers in the summer. Under the revised contract, transit maintenance workers will fill in for vacationing drivers.

THE BAG 'O' SHOTS ITS DOORS

Montreal's damaged Olympic Stadium will remain closed indefinitely for safety checks. Officials initially said the 15-year-old facility would be open for one day after a ton of shrapnel crashed down from the side of the building on Sept. 23, but inspectors need more time to finish their job.

A SINDICATO IS CLEARED

After an 18-month investigation into allegations of corruption, the RCMP said that James Neve Sirois, premier, now premier, John Buchanan committed no wrongdoing. But they laid a charge of influence peddling against Edmonton lawyer Mark Clancy, a close Buchanan friend, and one of breach of trust against former minister of government services deputy minister Donald Power.



PSAC members back to work after a strike

ness services almost to a standstill.

Relief at the strike's conclusion was evident in Ottawa. The trace in the government union's streets took place just six days after the government tabled its back-to-work legislation. That bill would have introduced fines for violating the legislation of up to \$100,000 a day for the union, \$20,000 a day for many leaders and \$1,000 a day for individuals.

With both sides facing an escalating crisis, new House leader Nelson was cited as an influential mediator between the Treasury Board and PSAC. The outcome was an agreement that the union would return to work and Treasury Board President Glen Lauferle would suspend his legislative procedures on either side.

The deal allowed both sides to claim victory. Lauferle declared that the government would maintain its wage-restraint policy "It's not this year, three per cent next year and three per cent the year after," declared the minister. But for his part, Bess said that wages were on the table, along with such other issues as pay equity and job security.

But even if the accord is cemented, the government still faces other severe strains in the weeks ahead. Indeed, one outside expert in Canadian studies, University of Miami political scientist Howard Gidycz, said that the country is entering a "period of great uncertainty," not only for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his government, but for the nation itself. Mulroney's first task, said Gidycz, will be to "re-establish union support with Canadians." And although Gallup Canada Inc. reported last week that the government's popularity had risen to 16 per cent from its summer low, Gidycz added, "It is going to be hard for Mulroney to sell a box of lipsticks to the people never made a constitutional or economic package."

In the short term, however, the Prime Minister will have little opportunity to send leaders at home. His schedule takes him out of the country for nearly three weeks during the next two months. In addition to a commencement address at Stanford University in California this week, Mulroney will also travel to Rome for a Commonwealth conference next month, followed by a term meeting and a telephone summit, both in Europe, in November. For Mulroney, his role on the world stage may offer a welcome respite from the discontent, strikes, constitutional wrangling and economic struggle that he appears unable to escape while he is in Canada.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa

CANADA

A critical start

Uncertainty clouds a new political season

For a government hoping for a new season of healing and harmony, last week's start was a major disappointment. As MPs and senators prepared for the resumption of the third session of the 34th Parliament, 33 prominent Conservatives, along with three former and current senior RCMP officials, set in an Ottawa courtroom awaiting a ruling on privately filed charges of corruption and obstruction. On Parliament Hill, 20,000 striking members of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) gathered for a demonstration to express their anger at the government. Then, fortune swung in favor of the beleaguered Tories, whose popularity during the summer recess had dipped to a low of 13 per cent. For one thing, Ontario Crown prosecution dropped almost all of the charges brought by 300 businessmen Glen Kealey against senior Conservatives and RCMP officials—leaving only former cabinet minister Roch LaSalle facing fraud charges. For another, PSAC and the Treasury Board reached a wage-backed compromise, and the strikers returned to work while negotiating continued. Remarkably Calgary Tory MP Lee Robinson said, "We thought it would be a rocky week."

But while the government resolved some of its immediate problems, others continued to demand attention—among them the countri-

lateral negotiations and an economy still struggling to recover from recession. "Things may be off the boil," said Acadia University political scientist Agne Adamson in Wolfville, N.S. "But they are still simmering away." Indeed, even the fragile issue that ended the longest public-service strike at the union's history could still unravel. As workers returned to their jobs—and the government suspended back-to-work legislation tabled two days earlier—PSAC president Daryl Bess announced that his members would work to rule until a new collective agreement is reached. Bess told returning workers: "Don't do anything out of your way for this government." And he added that the strike could resume if the union concluded that the government is not bargaining in good faith.

The 155,000-member union launched its first national strike on Sept. 9, mainly in protest against the government's decision to freeze public-service wages in the contract year and to restrict raises to three per cent in each of the next two years. PSAC quickly showed that it had the power to cut to the heart of the nation's business. While about 45,000 union members were stranded in essential workers and could not strike, the majority of those who could—about 73,000—did. Over the course of the nine-day walkout, they paralyzed border crossings and brought a wide array of govern-

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Distinct societies

The bid to heal divisions begins for real

The address to an audience of Quebec business leaders was polished. It was also an appeal. Over the past weeks, Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark has pleaded with Canadians to keep an open mind when Ottawa releases its proposals for constitutional reform this week. Appearing before the Quebec Board of Trade, Clark repeated that message: "They are not written in stone," Clark said of the proposals. "We want them to be changed and improved, in a process of serious public discussion." Even so, the silence of 400 proved to be a tough sell. When the Alberta native concluded his speech, only half joined in a standing ovation. Now, in the months leading up to the government's self-imposed February deadline for taking its final constitutional package, Clark faces an even more difficult challenge: keeping a consensus in a divided nation.

These divisions may, in fact, tear the weekend

a special joint Senate-Bank of Canada committee that will spend the next five months examining the federal proposals and the public's reaction to them. Although the committee will be chaired by two Tories—Winnipeg MP Dorothy Doolie and Quebec Senator Claude Gauthier—who were vocal supporters of the Meech Lake accord, it also includes such conservative and highly partisan members as Liberal senators Royce Firth and Allan Rock. The potentially explosive mix of individuals with conflicting constitutional views could easily result in a more combative mood than the conciliatory atmosphere Clark took pains to foster last week. That, in turn, may complicate the federal Tories' task as they pursue their constitutional goal of balancing the interests of all the regions of Canada.

Foremost among the federal government's concerns is how to balance Quebec's insistence on constitutional recognition in a distinct soci-

ety—as in the failed Meech Lake accord—with other regional demands for provincial equality. According to Toronto law professor Patricia Monahan, who served as a constitutional adviser to former Ontario premier David Peterson, Ottawa could isolate Quebec's distinct-society recognition in a constitutional provision that would also list other distinguishing Canadian characteristics—such as multiculturalism.

But Monahan acknowledged that such a provision would be largely symbolic in value. As such, it would certainly be denounced by Quebecers demanding more substantive recognition of their province's distinctiveness within the body of the Constitution. Indeed, three prominent federal senators from Quebec—Health Minister Branch Buckland, Treasury Board President Gilles Lefebvre and Defence Minister Marcel Masse—have already stated that they could accept nothing less than the guarantees offered by the failed Meech Lake accord—which would have enshrined the principle of Quebec's distinctiveness in the Constitution. Stated Monahan: "Distinct societies will be the lightning rod just as it was with Meech Lake."

Indeed, arrayed against the concept of any change that would confer special powers on Quebec are provinces such as Newfoundland's Clyde Wells. In an Ottawa speech last week, Wells said: "We are all of us as Canadians the equal of anyone else. Nobody is better than anybody else." For his part, Alberta Inter-governmental Affairs Minister James Barragan said in an interview on Friday that although public hearings in his province have shown sympathy and understanding for Quebecers, "There is a great deal of concern about any special status being granted to Quebec."

But the upcoming round of constitutional discussions will also focus on other issues not widely concerned with Quebec. Among them: including an elected Senate, defining native rights and granting more control of the economy to Ottawa and more powers to the provinces in areas such as manpower training, culture and transportation. Indeed, some provinces did not wait for Clark's announcement to advance their respective constitutional change. Last week, Ontario NDP Premier Bob Rae proposed that a constitutional "social charter" enshrine the rights of Canadians to education, medicine and welfare.

For his part, Clark last week promised that Ottawa would grant such proposals with an open mind. In fact, said February provincial governments, lobby groups and individuals will have an opportunity to air their opinions before the 30-member Commission-Senate committee, which will review the country's existing hearings. The government will then transform its constitutional proposals into a final report to be presented to Parliament by Feb. 28. It is a tight deadline, leaving the Tories with only five months to find a way of making Canadians divided on their country's future—and wary and weary of constitutional discussion.

NANCY WOOD in Ottawa



Clark in Quebec City: the new constitutional package is not carved in stone

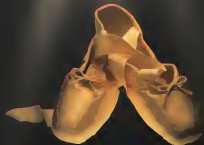
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Back to the future

Rita Johnston tries to overcome the past

Alcohol runs as deep as water in the western provinces, and in each case the strongest challenger to the incumbent is the New Democratic Party. In British Columbia, Social Credit Premier Rita Johnston is battling an Hanesmer lawyer, Stuart Hanesmer, who is running as an election that she called last week for Oct. 17. In Saskatchewan, Conservative Premier Grant Devine faces a reformed NDP under former provincial attorney general Roy Romanow in an Oct. 21 vote (page 80). The outcomes could significantly tilt the balance in the national political arena. "I'm the only current new premier," Ontario's Bob Rae, quips (see also-minded colleagues at the First Ministers' table). Maclean's reports on the campaigns now under way in both British Columbia and Saskatchewan.

I was a familiar scene in the B.C. capital of Victoria: William Vander Zalm—grieving last province's coalition, business suit immaculately tailored—surrounded by reporters and television cameras. But the brief encounter last week was an ironic reminder of the halcyon days of five years ago when, as the new Social Credit premier of the province, Vander Zalm declared that he was ushering in a new era of honesty in government. Last week's tribune was played out on the steps of a provincial court-house, where Vander Zalm appeared to face a criminal charge of breach of trust that carries a maximum five-year prison sentence. And that contrast, instead of particularly telling, when, just nine hours later, Johnston, his longtime supporter and successor as premier, announced a provincial election for Oct. 17. Said Johnston, "Bribe-men are about tomorrow and the future, and that's how I will run this campaign." Still, she would like to stop Vander Zalm's long shadow from suffocating the 30-day campaign.

The 59-year-old Johnston, Canada's first woman premier, had been seeking a favorable moment for the election since announcing the party's leadership at a July 28 convention. The party, given a commanding 47-of-63 seat majority over the New Democrats in the October 1986 election (since reduced to 41-of-65 by near hyperactive vicarages and resignations), was required by law to call an election no later than Dec. 5. But such time the Sorensen passport passed to go to the people, the very same embarrasments, rooted in the scandal-ridden Vander Zalm regime. Indeed, just a week before Johnston called the election, off-

cials in the provincial attorney general's department filed civil breach-of-trust charges against Vander Zalm's former tourism minister and provincial secretary William Reid over his handling of provincial lottery funds.

While the case against both Reid and Vander Zalm was now in the courts—and beyond the reach of direct political comment—NDP Leader Hancock made it clear that the Sorensen government's litany of scandals would play a major role in his party's campaign. Said Hancock: "Mrs. Johnston and her cabinet col-



The premier Vander Zalm's shadow hangs over the B.C. Sorensen's attempt to get re-elected

ligues will have a lot of explaining to do about what they knew and when they knew it." Last week, NDP finance critic Glen Clark launched the attack by challenging Johnston's insistence that she did not know the extent of Vander Zalm's questionable business accounts until April 1, when conflict-of-interest commissioner Edward Hughes released a harshly critical report on Vander Zalm's affairs, leading to his resignation. Clark pointed out that Johnston had acknowledged in the legislature last May that the Sorensen cabinet had, the previous fall, instructed cabinet secretary David Emerson to compile information on Vander Zalm's business involvement. Said Clark, "Mrs. Johnston is suffering from an acute case of Zalmnesia." In fact, Johnston has worked hard to put her

long association with Vander Zalm behind her. She served the former premier as a strategy of portfolios and was one of his most loyal supporters until his resignation. More recently, however, she said "I honestly believe the people of this province are sick and tired of hearing the news-raking and the scandal-discovery." And Johnston's pre-campaign speeches stressed well away from references to Vander Zalm. Instead, she has gone on the attack against her NDP opposition, attributing Ontario's current economic problems to that province's year-old new government and warning British Columbians to expect depths and higher taxes under a Hanesmer administration. These attacks will likely intensify as the campaign unfolds. Last week, campaign chairman Patrick Russell warned Sorensen supporters to expect a campaign that even they might find too negative. But for him, Hancock said that the New Democrats would avoid any retaliatory "sand-

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CANADA



Devine: Tory counterparts in Ottawa contributed a good news announcement

The harvest campaign

Devine and Romanow launch a nasty fight

The signs of an approaching election had appeared all summer, as Saskatchewan's Conservative Premier Grant Devine crisscrossed the province in campaign style, waving and waving after another. Last week, the 47-year-old premier made it official. Devine chose the occasion of his own re-election as the Conservative candidate in the north Saskatchewan riding of Estevan to announce a general election for Oct. 21. And, despite political and judicial who have all but written off his party's chances of securing a third term after 21 years in office, Devine told his supporters: "This election is a real test for the future of Saskatchewan. We will win it."

But Devine will need little short of a political miracle if he is to return his party to government. Opposing him are the Saskatchewan Liberals, led by the provincial New Democrats led by Saskatoon lawyer Roy Romanow. (The most recently published poll, conducted last June by Winnipeg's Angus Reid Group, gave the NDP the support of 63 per cent of respondents—compared with 18 per cent for the Tories, barely ahead of the moribund Liberals at 15 per cent. Noted Reid company analyst Bruce Cameron wrote: "That kind of gap is difficult to overcome.")

For his part, Romanow has attempted to link Devine directly to the province's faltering farm economy. After years of poor harvests—the result of successive droughts in the early 1980s—Saskatchewan's grain farmers are finally poised to bring in a bumper crop this autumn. But that is unlikely to translate into

higher incomes, because world grain prices have plummeted. As a result, crop of the province's farmers have little prospect of offsetting accumulated debts totaling approximately \$6 billion. According to the war leader, Tory mismanagement has also contributed to the province's economic decline. Says Romanow: "Devine had 10 straight deficits. And now, Saskatchewan is \$5.2 billion in debt."

Devine has fought back with a searing long string of economic announcements. The numbers have ranged from jumping Toronto-based Green Life Insurance Co.—and 1,200 jobs—to Regina with a provincial loan guarantee, to something public money in a \$50-million pasta plant at Swift Current. Last week, federal Agriculture Minister Wilson McKnight—a former Saskatchewan Tory party president—contributed a further economic boost to the province when he announced that the Farm Credit Corp., which lends money to farmers, would move to Regina from Ottawa, transferring a further 300 jobs.

Still, Devine's Tories clearly face as uphill battle as they strive to reorganize the water confidence that waned them into power in 1982. Romanow's New Democrats have deep Prairie roots, starting with the assassination of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Regina in 1933. Indeed, the NDP and its successor have ruled Saskatchewan for 31 of the past 47 years. Now, Romanow has his party as well as the polls—as his aide

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'OUT OF THE LOOP'

**CIA NOMINEE
ROBERT GATES
DENIES BEING
INVOLVED IN
AN IRAN-CONTRA
COVERUP**

The witness provided a telling glimpse into the murky universe of intrigue and double-dealing behind the secretive walls of the Central Intelligence Agency. Testifying before the Senate intelligence committee last week on the nomination of Robert Gates to head the CIA, former official Alan Fiers held the panel spellbound as he recounted events that took place soon after then-CIA Director William Casey chose him to lead the key Central American Task Force in 1984. Fiers said that he was shocked to discover that Lt.-Col. Oliver North, then a White House official, was running a clandestine operation to help the Nicaraguan contras in apparent defiance of a congressional ban. After Fiers exposed that to his superiors, Casey asked North if he was operating in Central America. To Fiers's disbelief, North denied it. Later, Fiers noted, he immediately lost. Chief George, accused "What you saw going on in there was a chisel."

To some analysts, that was also an apt description of last week's proceedings in the Senate's starkly lit hearing room. Two months after Fiers pleaded guilty to withholding

information from Congress about the Iran-contra affair, creating the panel to probe his hearings and threatening to derail Gates's nomination for the second time in four years, Fiers's explosive revelations failed to materialize. Despite serious questions about Gates's past conduct and judgment, most conservative members showed a marked reluctance to confront President George Bush's handpicked candidate for CIA director. At stake in the very future and mission of the \$34-billion-a-year agency, Gates's several critics found themselves forced to heavily outweigh their doubts whether the hearing room was half empty. And two months of concentrated pressure by White House and former intelligence officials appeared to have succeeded by the end of the first session, Washington lobbyist Tim Korman, here to corroborate the administration's campaign, was so confident that he claimed not only to have convinced Gates's confirmation, but also to have reversed the reputations of the euphoric Casey—who died four years ago.

Another corporate announcement strengthened Fiers's secretary's denunciation not to dwell on Gates's questionable performance during the unraveling of the Iran-contra scandal in late 1986. On the morning that the hearings opened, independent counsel Lawrence Walsh, standing in the federal district courthouse steps, told six blacks away, announced that he had dropped his five-year-old civil suit against North, a case caught up in a series of complex and costly appeals. A plaintiff North claimed that he had been "brutally mis-treated—fully, completely." But on that day, Walsh decided to let it go. Fiers, who declined to be interviewed, said North's former boss, Robert McFarlane, blamed Walsh by testifying that North's groundbreaking performance before a 1983 joint congressional inquiry into the Iran-contra affair, which granted the colonel limited immunity from prosecution, had



inflicted his own tortuosity at the cost. The incident served as a warning to the Senate intelligence committee not to repeat similar immunity to Fiers's former boss, George, who was indicted in early September on 16 counts of perjury, making false statements and obstructing the inquiry. But without George's protracted testimony, the panel heard little new evidence to support renewed allegations that Gates had been involved in an agency coverup. And with five-year statutes of limitations on many of the charges set to run out this fall, Walsh now has few prospects of shedding light on the scandal's many awarded corners.

Retired CIA veteran Thomas Pidgeon, who served as an investigator for the post-congressional inquiry into the Iran-contra affair, launched the most scathing attack on Gates's credibility. He accused Gates of repeatedly "not telling the truth" when he claimed that he was "out of the loop" of knowledge about the clandestine contra's operations. Pidgeon added that Gates's nomination raised a moral issue that could undermine the CIA's future. "What kind of signal does his nomination send to the troops?" he asked. "Serve faithfully to the best of the moment, never mind reciprocity?" But Pol-

lowing my mind," said Ohio Senator Howard Martin. "I wish one of our investigators who took him to task. 'It was as if you said, 'See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil.'"

Another Democrat, New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley also raised doubts about Gates's chief area of expertise: his record as a Soviet analyst. Anticipating a series of allegations from former CIA staff members expected to be heard in a closed session this week, Bradley asked Gates to explain whether he had shied from intelligence—"cooked the books"—to fit his own inside-the-Soviet view at White House foreign policy. In one case, Bradley said that a 1986 CIA analysis that warned of increasing Soviet influence in Iran—an assertion the agency later contradicted—had provided "the strategic rationale for the Iran-contra operation." And Bradley pointed out that Gates's repeated warnings about the Soviet threat, which drew President Ronald Reagan back to helpfully by his superextended defense spending, had turned out to be "dead wrong."

That record may yet prove most troublesome for the 47-year-old Illinois businessman who aspires to lead the CIA into a new, post-Cold War era. With the shuttering of the Soviet threat almost paralyzing the dismantling of the U.S. agency loaded to thwart the Kremlin's international designs 44 years ago, some focus calls for an entire overhaul of its structure and authority—except for its outright dismantling. In fact, the worsening urgency to reform its mission may be what gives rise to so many senators last week seated in eager to mull Gates at the temporarily leaderless agency—even if it involved firing a head eye to accede to pain.

As well, as South Carolina Democrat Ernest Hollings indicated last week, the senators themselves may be enthusiastic about re-examining their own abortive inquiry into the Iran-contra after four years ago. According to the metaphor that Fiers had applied to the CIA Hollings agreed. "Talk about a chisel—we were engaged in a chisel." But even that startling admission, which served as a clarifier light on one of the most contentious chapters in recent American history—or to keep Robert Gates from his longtime dream of heading the CIA.

MARCI McDONALD in Washington

World Notes

BACK TO BACK

Saying that he was "plenty fed up," President George Bush intervened: that he could send U.S. warplanes to the Persian Gulf to force Iraq President Saddam Hussein to comply with UN Security Council punitive resolutions. Bush insisted that the move did not signal "Desert Storm II" and was intended solely to ensure that UN inspectors could be safe Iraq by helicopter to locate and destroy the hidden nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.

WELCOME TO THE UN

The UN General Assembly welcomed seven new members by acclamation: North and South Korea, the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and the two Pacific island nations of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands. There are now 195 member countries, up from 61 when the United Nations was founded in 1945.

SHAKE GO HOME

After opposition leaders called for her impeachment, Philippine President Corason Aquino backed away from her threat to hold a referendum to overturn a senate rule on the question of America's continued use of the Subic Bay naval base. The senate had voted 12 to 11 to reject a new treaty allowing the Americans to use the base until 2000 in exchange for \$2.5 billion. Aquino was still trying to work out a compromise with the senators at the weekend.

HOSTAGE HEARTACHE

Despite hopes for a swift, un-bloody outcome, the Middle East hostage crisis dragged on as negotiators in Lebanon and Beirut, Israel, met five to 20 more Arab detainees before they release any more Western captives. The Israeli, who freed 51 Arab prisoners and released one held for two weeks ago in what appeared to be the first step in a new round of negotiations, said that they would not meet the new demands of the Revolutionary Justice Organization.

FOURTEEN, MEXICAN-STYLE

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International reported that Mexico's military, police and anti-drug agents commonly use torture to extract confessions from criminal suspects. According to Amnesty, the methods include electric shocks and forcing a mixture of mustard water and hot chili powder into a victim's mouth. In general, the Mexican attorney general's office announced that it will file criminal charges against a dozen federal politicians implicated in cases of torture and murder.

Blood feuds with a long history

Ethnic rivalries run high on the Azerbaijani border

Despite the enthusiasm that followed the collapse of the Soviet Union early this month, the individual realities are far from idealistic problems. The main one arises from old ethnic tensions that the Communists had suppressed into unbridled determination. These tensions are now most evident in the south where no longer has gripped the neighboring republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Moscow's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been busy in Armenia last week. My report

In the heat of a late-summer afternoon, the Azerbaijani village of Kankabul appeared from a few kilometers away as a distant sliver of white amid the green of a fertile river valley. In the nearby Armenian village of Paravak, Soviet Bulgarians ruled on tower grapes and squatted onto the sun in the land, without success, to remember the last time he had visited Kankabul. The shallow Akhori River divides the two neighboring communities, so do centuries-old blood feuds that have erupted since in the past three years, forming the 365-km border between Armenia and Azerbaijan into a line of violence and death. "We Armenians are Christian and they are Muslim," explained Bulgarians, a 40-year-old police lieutenant in Paravak, a village of 1,800 residents about 180 km northwest of the Armenian capital of Yerevan. "We used to be friendly enough in this valley, raising each other and returning striped cotton, but no longer."

Since 1988, as many as 1,000 people have died violently in Armenia and Azerbaijan, southern republics whose people are divided by ethnic origins, culture and religion. Russia's army ruled both nations into their polyglot empires during the 19th century. Then, during the 1920s, their Bolshevik successors in the Kremlin sowed the seeds of future conflict by arbitrarily altering the borders of the two republics and giving the predominantly Armenian region of Nagorno-Karabakh under Azerbaijani control. Now, that fully realize has become an aim of bloodletting, as the Azerbaijani government continues to reject the demands of its predominantly Armenian population of 380,000 for political unification with Armenia. It also provides a dark heritage of the chaos that could result if other former republics of old empires try to adjust borders that were drawn and redrawn under the harsh rule of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin.

The fruits of that policy were evident in Paravak last week. Although the village is



Armenian refugees: "We used to be friendly enough in this valley, but no longer."

ter pumping station burned without interruption, three jagged holes in the building's stone walls testified to the accuracy of Soviet army gunfire. On May 10, tanks fired from positions in Kankabul at the building as a Soviet armored column backed by an helicopter moved against Paravak.

Federal military forces launched extensive border-closing operations. And Armenian officials testified to the accuracy of Soviet army gunfire. On May 10, tanks fired from positions in Kankabul at the building as a Soviet armored column backed by an helicopter moved against Paravak.

grenades ambushed a military truck carrying newly, killing one soldier and wounding eight others. According to Bulgarians, that anti-air-supported commandment destroyed or damaged 14 villages in Paravak. But the villagers averted a potential bloodbath by yielding to an army situation and surrounding their weapons—on being refused, say the mass of Paravak.

New, Pags, who took part in last night's failed command operation, is dead of a self-inflicted gunshot wound, and the seven other leaders of the uprising are awaiting trial on treason charges. Soviet troops in Armenia no longer conduct border operations. But guards still

shut the rugged hills on both sides of the frontier, and Armenians and Azerbaijanis continue to die—and take each other hostages for reasons that range from a few coffee to anabolic-guns and other weapons. At subsequent meetings last week, as Bulgarians and other villagers talked, distant rifle shots broke the late-afternoon stillness. "Every day, there is shooting on the border," said Bulgarians. "Four days ago, the Azerbaijanis killed one of my colleagues not far from here—he was 27 years old and married, with three children."

chested, unemployed former firefighter. "How could unemployment be worse? When we were part of the Soviet Union, our unemployed families—no-communists, Soviet soldiers, were shooting at us."

Still, Armenia, with roughly the same landmass as Belgium, is the most successful republic. And it has little firsthand knowledge of the need to maintain economic ties with Moscow. Azerbaijan has blocked rail shipments to the beleaguered republic, and in Paravak, so elsewhere in Armenia, gasoline and sugar are among the most scarce in short supply. Armenia's only remaining links with the outer Soviet republics run through neighboring Georgia, where the government is becoming increasingly authoritarian and protectionist.

The border conflict with Azerbaijan is the latest chapter in Armenia's troubled history. In 1988, at least 25,000 people died in an earthquake that shook central Armenia, destroying 40 per cent of the republic's buildings and leaving 500,000 people homeless. Despite Soviet and international aid, Armenian officials acknowledge that none the quake they have completed only about 25 per cent of the needed reconstruction. Soviet Supreme Central Deputy Sergei Sakhniansky says: "Many people are still living in tents, garages and other makeshift accommodations." And the republic's already strained resources have been further depleted during recent years by the arrival of 250,000 Armenian refugees from Azerbaijan.

Even as the Azerbaijan government seeks better relations with its other neighbors, Iran and Turkey, it has continued a decades-old campaign to correct old wrongs. When Armenia officials announced its plan to avoid from the Soviet Union one year ago, it coupled that declaration with a pledge to continue seeking international acknowledgment that Turkish claims concerning its 1915 when they massacred an estimated one million Armenian Christians in the positions of the Balkan Ottoman Empire. As for Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian Vice-President Babik Arakelian, 42, and that the Azerbaijan administration was placing its hopes on the increased influence of such republican leaders as Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who visited the region on a last Friday morning last week. He said that those leaders could help them achieve, at a minimum, greater self-rule for the troubled enclave.

Meanwhile, many Armenians are watching with interest as the other members of the old union follow their republican into a post-Communist future. Armenia obtained state-owned land, about 40 per cent of the republic's area, to private hands earlier this year. It did so by granting people a living rent collective farms the right to divide that land—had anyone there.

The decision meant that a family can buy a plot for only 10 per cent of the national price. Said Sakhniansky, the chairman of a key economic committee: "There were great debates in the legislature over whether the government should sell the land at market value or return for nothing what the people, in theory at least, already owned. We decided on this compromise." The early result, according to Sakhniansky, is a jump in productivity that has lifted stores in Yerevan and other communities with produce.

An Sakhniansky delivered those assessments of change, he passed from the window of a light-colored office in the legislative building. Set in a vast expanse of curiously tumbled towers raised by a high fence, the structure's rose-colored columns are reminiscent of Tsar, the southern province in the 1920s. Armenian Vice-President Gohar Sahakyan, the legislature's incoming 40-year-old building used to serve as Central Committee headquarters for the Armenian branch of the Communist party. But in May, Armenia's democratically elected government ousted the structure and other Communist property. Sakhniansky, too, has made a personal adjustment to the new political realities. Until recently, the 59-year-old non-Communist legislator used the first name that his assembly member father bestowed upon him as birth: Mkhitar, an acronym formed from the names of Moses, David, Isaac and Noah.

By the week of the legislature, the snow-covered twin peaks of Mount Ararat appear through the haze that hangs over Yerevan's skyline. That mountain, 80 km away, is a visible reminder of a time when Armenia's borders encompassed a far greater territory. Mount Ararat, enclosed as the Bible in the land of Noah's Ark, is now within the borders of Turkey. Only a few nationalist extremists continue to campaign for its return to Armenian control. Most Armenians in the building capital of 1.3 million simply regard the distant mountain with affection and reverence.

The city's airport offers a grimed illustration of the shared business skills that Armenians say will ensure their tiny nation's continued survival and prosperity. On the terrace, the white-and-blue Turkish-Armenian joint venture that shuttles daily between Yerevan and Moscow is a familiar sight. Every day, interwoven Armenians, laden with suitcases and newspapers filled with local produce from Paravak and other villages, occupy many of the plane's 350 seats. The reason: With Soviet subsidies and an effort, cruising tickets cost only about 140,000 drams, or \$4.40, for the same mile of exchange. But in the private markets of produce-seller's blocks, grapes sell for up to 12 rubles, or 30 cents per pound. □

Armenia Armenia, August's coup attempt strengthened a resolve that is widely held by a majority of the republic's 3.3 million inhabitants to be independent. In fact, before last month's final collapse of Karabakh rule, the nationalist, and non-Communist, government of President Levon Ter-Petrossian, 46, had successfully followed a five-year Soviet procedure for seceding sovietized states. But 21 republics, including Azerbaijan, have now quickly declared their independence. And in Armenia-wide referendum on independence that was held on Sept. 22, simply because a civil poll was a union that no longer exists. Said Mkhitar, a 34-year-old Paravak village, on the eve of the referendum: "Everyone will vote as [he]." Added the barrel-

reous its plan to avoid from the Soviet Union one year ago, it coupled that declaration with a pledge to continue seeking international acknowledgment that Turkish claims concerning its 1915 when they massacred an estimated one million Armenian Christians in the positions of the Balkan Ottoman Empire. As for Nagorno-Karabakh, Armenian Vice-President Babik Arakelian, 42, and that the Azerbaijan administration was placing its hopes on the increased influence of such republican leaders as Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who visited the region on a last Friday morning last week. He said that those leaders could help them achieve, at a minimum, greater self-rule for the troubled enclave.



Croatian national guard on patrol. 'This is a fight between David and Goliath'

superiority, offered some concessions in a letter to Federal Defense Minister Veljko Radujković. Tudjman said that he was ready to lift his 100,000-guard blockade of army barracks in Croatian territory, a siege that began on Sept. 13. But although that blockade had been the army's justification for the all-out onslaught, Radujković rejected Tudjman's offer as too little, too late. He pointed out that under a European Community-led ceasefire agreement signed earlier last week, Tudjman had already promised to unblock the barracks—and had failed to follow through.

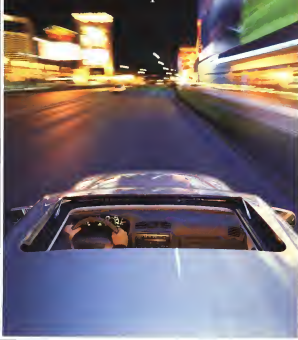
The escalation was the fourth that the EC had arranged since the fighting broke out in June, after Croatia and neighboring Slovenia declared their independence and Croatia's Serbian minority of 600,000 retaliated. The EC has sent 250 unarmed monitors to Yugoslavia, and some of them have become targets of Serbian and Croatian snipers. Last week, after their latest mediation effort collapsed, EC leaders decided not to send troops to support their efforts. With that hope dwindling, Canada appealed for immediate action by the United Nations. Getting the Yugoslav situation "a great tragedy," Prime Minister Brian Mulroney offered to send Canadian forces as part of a UN peacekeeping effort. And at week's end, as the fighting intensified, French President François Mitterrand called an urgent session of Security Council foreign ministers for early this week.

But the prospects for peace seemed decidedly dim in a country that has been splintering at the seams since the death of its strong post-war leader, Marshal Josip Broz Tito, in 1980. For one thing, the federal army now appears to be the only cohesive force left in Yugoslavia. Since the ethnic unrest began in June, officers of the Serbian-dominated military have claimed that they were not taking sides, but acting solely as a peacekeeping force. Independent observers, however, said that the army was openly supporting the Serbian rebels—and last week's mass assaults made that abundantly clear. On the outskirts of Vukovar, Serbian nationalists and federal soldiers mingled easily, talking and co-operating. The Serbs displayed machine-guns that the army had given them.

Serge Miroslav, a Croat who currently heads the racing Yugoslav presidency that Tito set up to try to save the country from disintegration, said that the generals were out of control and urged federal reservists "to go over to the side of the people." But that plea went unheeded, as have Miroslav's repeated calls for the army to withdraw. In fact, the officer corps of the 180,000-strong army is plainly nostalgic for the Communist days of Tito. They are also perhaps the most privileged sector of Yugoslav society, provided with good salaries and housing, as well as a retirement bonus and a handsome pension. As a result, they have plenty to lose if the country crumbles. But amid the fog of war late last week, one thing seemed clear: Tito's Yugoslavia had collapsed.

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YUGOSLAVIA

The battle for Croatia

Federal troops launch an all-out assault

Sheets of flame and billows of black smoke rose over the suburbs of Vukovar, a Yugoslav town where Serbs and Croats once lived peacefully side by side. Gunshots and machine-gun fire rang out as federal troops, backed by tanks, moved from house to house late last week, carrying out a massive crackdown on the secessionist republic of Croatia. Most citizens had already abandoned the beleaguered town. The remaining few looked terrified in terror, while Croatian national guardsmen desperately fired mortars and machine-guns. In the village of Siben, within sight of the battle, guardsmen had moved to a makeshift field camp after their base was hit by fire that left three of their 80 men dead and six seriously wounded. "This is a fight between David and Goliath," declared Zorica Dren, looking tired but determined. His brother-in-law had been killed in the fighting, he said, and the least he could do was avenge his death.

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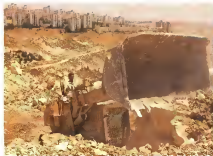
THE MIDDLE EAST

Israel's slow isolation

Bush pressures Shamir to negotiate peace

They arrive at the rate of about 500 a day, most of them from the Soviet Union, others from Europe and elsewhere. More than 135,000 Jews have immigrated to Israel so far this year, the vanguard of an expected new influx by 1995. To Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the newcomers fulfill the Zionist dream of a return to the biblical Prom-

ised land. But the Israeli government's foreign committee approved \$7.2 million for industrial and tourism projects in the settled areas. The dispute now threatens to subvert the special ties that have existed between America and the Jewish state since its founding in 1948. Declared one veteran Israeli diplomat, Gideon Rieger: "We have never been through anything like this confrontation in the past."



Rousing construction in the West Bank: Israeli officials refuse to suspend settlements

ised Land—and represent the modern Jewish state's first hope for continued existence. But as President George Bush, trying to arrange a Middle East peace agreement, they represent, at least for the moment, political leverage. Earlier this month, Bush asked Congress to delay, until after a proposed October peace conference, consideration of Israeli's request for \$1.1 billion in U.S. loan guarantees to accommodate the new immigrants. And last week, Secretary of State James Baker discussed the pressure when he said that he may be the last guarantee to a freeze on Israeli settlements in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights.

Shamir promptly denounced the linkage and vowed to continue to support the new settlements, where already an estimated 200,000 Jews live, mostly among 1.8 million Palestinians. Indeed, last Friday, Israel's parliament

history of American-Israeli relations."

More than any of his predecessors, Bush has shown a willingness to risk the anger of the powerful American Jewish lobby by directly challenging the Israeli government. But Shamir, whose country receives more than \$3 billion in annual aid from the United States, has refused to bend under pressure. Last week, as his seventh diplomatic mission to the Middle East came to the end of the Persian Gulf War in February, Baker again failed to secure Israel's firm agreement to attend a peace conference. At the same time, Israeli officials vowed to increase settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip—Arab lands that Israel captured in the 1967 Six-Day War—where Palestinians have waged a 30-year rebellion against Israeli rule.

The Israelis maintain that none of the lands for new immigrants will be used to settle them

in the occupied territories. But White House officials dismiss that assurance, they say that the funds will have to offset Israeli money to continue building settlements in the territories. And Bush was clearly angered last week when Israeli cabinet minister Rehavam Ze'evi accused him of anti-Semitism. Said William Quandt, a Middle East expert at Washington's nonpartisan Brookings Institution: "We have been a very, very strong supporter, and for Bush to hear members of the Israeli cabinet calling him anti-Semitic does not help."

The issue has taken on a special sensitivity. A Washington lobbyist for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, who is trying to secure the loan guarantees, spoke to *Money*'s only on condition of anonymity. "The American Jewish community is totally focused on achieving its major goal of helping Israel absorb Soviet and Eastern Jews," he said. "That is the issue. It is not land for peace or peace for land." Added the lobbyist: "World public opinion is against Israel and the only boost, for better or for ill, is the United States. So if there is a breach between Washington and Jerusalem, the Israelis have got to use it to rally us—that will get their backs up and there will be no movement on the peace process."

Added Daniel Matan, chairman of the Washington director of inter-religious and public affairs at B'nai B'rith, the worldwide Jewish humanitarian association: "After the United States has done so much to bring about a breakthrough, it would be best to leave the discussions on settlements to the negotiating table."

In Jerusalem, meanwhile, politicians expressed concern about the Bush administration's lack of anti-anti-Semitism in its official attitude toward Israel. Observers say that there is a pervasive feeling that since the fall of the Soviet empire and the resulting loss of Soviet influence in the Arab world, the United States has abandoned its role as Israel's global patron, no longer willing to side automatically with the Jewish state. Said Israeli diplomat Rieger: "A critic of Israel's hard-line government... 'How long can we report a nation like the United States, whose importance and power has increased commensally with the collapse of communism, to be a willing partner in being led down the garden path? The U.S. President expects his words to be heard and respected.'"

Last week, a spokesman for Shamir said that the prime minister was still searching for a compromise. "We will continue to try and find a solution that will satisfy us and will satisfy them as well," he said. "We have not declared war on the United States of America." But the Bush White House may have decided a diplomatic war on Israel.

ANDREW BELSKY with
ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem and
JILLARY MACKENZIE in Washington



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ROYAL BANK

THE UNITED STATES

On the back roads of Iowa

Democrats battle despair

On a gray and windy afternoon last week, a banker, a teacher and an insurance broker stopped for a shot in front of the Grand Flamingo and Shining Stars in Biala, an Iowa town of 841 people in the heart of Middle America. They had few real words for politicians. "You can get them all in a bag and dump 'em up," the insurance agent, 59-year-old Clarence Van Der Zyl, leaning his back against the shop window. "They all come out the same." But at least President George Bush was praise for his handling of the Persian Gulf crisis. "I think he handled the war thing as well as you could," and Van Der Zyl, adding that he would vote his ballot for Bush in the 1992 presidential election over any Democratic contender—particularly if that contender was Iowa Senator Thomas Harkin. "He's too honest," declared Van Der Zyl. The banker, Steven Rogers, 38, clipped in: "He's a late special." And the barber, 68-year-old Kenneth Kunkel, agreed: "That's right, he'll sell the White House."

But then other Democratic candidates have little time, by U.S. political standards, to win over the Van Der Zyls, the Rogerses and the Kunkels of America. Biala was already harvesting their political convictions by the time Harkin announced his presidential candidacy at a fund-raising steak-fry on a farm near Des Moines last week—just five months before the Iowa caucuses in February and 10 months before the party's nominating convention in New York City in July. Only two other Democrats have formally entered the race: former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas declared in April, and Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder announced on Sept. 13. Nebraska Senator Robert Kerkrey, Arkansas Gov. William Clinton and Iowa's California governor Edmund Gjerrell Brown are expected to declare later this month.

By September four years ago, when Democrats and six Republican candidates stalked the city streets and rolling farms of Iowa. Set between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, the powerful heartland state has been important in presidential campaigns since 1874, when Iowa Democrats began holding the earliest contest in the nation. In the process, Iowa has become a stage at which political leaders witness to reporters as they cast or jettison hopes and aspirations. The 1988 campaign brought an estimated \$40 million to the state, a bonanza that will not be repeated this year because of the comparatively low and electrifying turnout. And Iowa Democratic chairman, John Ruchlow, emphasized that the campaign's live event has "been a disaster—it's very hard to pound home the message in just six months to a year."

The Democratic contenders are focusing on domestic economic issues rather than challenging Bush on his strength—foreign policy. Recent opinion polls show that more than 75 per cent of Americans

believe that the economy is in a recession. But so far, Democrats have been unable to tap into the wave of discontent. Bush's approved rating hovers around 70 per cent. And prominent Democrats, including Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri and Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee, have said they they will not run. Said Robert Winderbaum, a public administration professor of Des Moines's Drake University: "The first issue has decided to sit this one out."

Some analysts claim that the disintegration of the Soviet Union has given Democrats a political opportunity. With the once-tightly secrecy as barriers, Democrats can now make a case for cutting the Pentagon budget in favor of social programs, a proposal that has provoked a flag-waving conservative backlash in the recent past. "There are legs," said David Soyars, a political writer for *The Des Moines Register*, "as that the collapse of communism removes national security concerns." Picking at his baked potato at a fast-food court at a Des Moines mall, 30-year-old systems programmer David Rasmussen concluded that "slashing the defense budget is a good idea." But he added: "Taking care of the deficit is where the money should be going."

Wanderlust and fort it will, in fact, be almost impossible for anyone to defeat Bush. After Democrats occupied the White House for all but eight years from 1933 to 1969, Republicans have won five of the past six presidential elections. At the Black Hawk state-fair, 45-year-old physician Deborah Turner sat on a picnic bench supported by boxes of styrofoam. "When John Kennedy was killed," said Turner, "we took a wound that I'm not sure we ever recovered from."

In his declaration speech, Harkin pledged to reconstruct the days of Democratic glory, wearing a casual blue shirt and cowboy boots, he strode onto a stage adorned with American flags in front of a crowd of about 3,000 enthusiastic supporters. He recalled president Franklin Roosevelt, who came to power in 1933 promising to reverse great-depression economics. And Harkin attacked Republicans for preventing farmers to buy businesses on the theory that wealth will "crumble down" to socialism. "We have been waiting 100 years for some of this money to trickle down, and we haven't."

Harkin said that his plan is to divert defense money into education, transit systems, roads and health care, to enable wealth to "percolate up the whole." And he launched a populist assault on the 57th President, whom he derisively refers to by his full four names: "I'm in here to tell you that George Herbert Walker Bush has feet of clay,"



Harkin assuaging his confidence: with Bush's approval rating around 70 per cent, few prominent Democrats are not running

chattered Harkin, adding: "And I'm going to take a hammer to them."

Born in Curlew, Iowa, to a coal-miner father and a Silverdale immigrant mother, Harkin, now 51, and a military scholarship to get himself through Iowa State University. After graduating in 1963, he enlisted as a carry pilot and landed aircraft in and from Vietnam. He married Judy Ruchlow in 1968, and they have two daughters, Amy, 25, and Jenny, 9. The Harkins both attended law school in Washington before returning to Iowa, where he was a state in the House of Representatives in 1974, and then to the Senate in 1984. Although a Roman Catholic, he supports the right to abortion. He sponsored legislation that bars doctors from signing the disabled and to vote against the use of force in the Gulf crisis.

Harkin's critics describe him as an aggressive demagogue. But he clearly appeals to liberals and other Iowans attracted by his ease from the poverty of his youth. "He wasn't born with a silver spoon in his mouth," said John Paul, a gruff 66-year-old retired writer who once worked as a janitor, but who now spends most days in Harkin's bar in Keokuk, east of Des Moines. "Harkin's a better man than the lot we got now."

Just southeast of Keokuk, Donald Gephardt sat in front of his unadorned, one-and-a-half-farmhouse, pondering whom to support in the election. "I'm not a big political person," and the 34-year-old Gephardt. "These ones over there are what I'm big on—I don't think we're spending too much money across the board, and I don't want enough left for the programs in the United States." Scratching his black border collar, Abby, behind the ears, he added: "I'm not a Jew, I'm not a Jew, I'm not a Jew towards Harkin because of what he's done for the working-class people."

Standing on his front porch in Newton, 30 km to the west, George Lakoff pressed Harkin's promise to spend more on schools. A 39-year-old teacher of two, he ridiculed Bush for calling himself the "education president." Said Lakoff: "That's complete hogwash—he's stolen his responsibility. It's time for some new blood in higher office."

To that end, Harkin led the week-by-week to launch his campaign in New Hampshire, where, analysts say, Democrats are likely to stage the closest early battle this year. Harkin's advantage as a native son makes it unlikely that other challengers will divert much energy to Iowa. "The

biggest story coming out of Iowa," said the Register's Soyars, "will be if someone comes in and upsets him."

The candidate most likely to challenge Harkin on his home turf is Kerkrey of neighboring Nebraska. Both men have support among farmers, who provide funding and form the core of the Democrats' membership. Drafting, two-faceted campaign teams "Harkin" and Raymond Sullivan, business manager for the plumbers and steamfitters union in Des Moines, "in an a letter track than any Democratic candidate we've had in recent history." But Sullivan said that he has not yet decided whom to vote for. He added: "Kerkrey is an excellent candidate."

Although Kerkrey's rising record is nearly as liberal as Harkin's, his status as a wounded veteran: the lost part of his right leg in Harkin's war against some conservative voters, and his on-stage, off-stage affair with newscaster Debra Winger could lead glances to his campaign. Meanwhile, Wilder and Clinton are expected to appeal to more moderate voters. And, said Mack Shesley, a political scientist at Iowa State University in Ames, "they could end up splitting in with Harkin, stop-Harkin vote of coalition."

Another candidate, Tsongas, has waged a five-month campaign without paying significant attention. And shows, now known as Governor Members for his unconventional behavior, has yet to include his candidacy. Black activist Jesse Jackson, who had hinted that he would try out of the race, and last week that he may reconsider. And Shesley said that Jackson, the most liberal candidate in two previous campaigns, "would appeal the applicant" by pulling voters away from Harkin.

Early in the season, the Democratic race is as volatile as in Iowa's disunion. While Democrats across the nation agree over their common, the Republicans, and Ronald Reagan, the party's executive director in Iowa, "would be foolish to dwell in Iowa Harkin into—he would be up to take issue."

But the occupy Iowa strategy has proved to fight back. Declared Drake University's Winderbaum: "The least you can say about Tom Harkin is that he added a little bit of excitement to an otherwise dull campaign." After a long political drought, Iowans and other Americans find that refreshing.

MART MERTENS in Des Moines



Grassroots: grassroots support

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WORLD

SWEDEN

Taxed to the limit

Angry voters reject the Social Democrats

For 88 years, Sweden has offered a so-called third way between capitalism and communism—a unique mixture of private enterprise and public services that has been the envy of Europe. Its citizens enjoy a cradle-to-grave welfare system including free health care, free education from kindergarten through graduate school and a generous public pension plan. But the cost of these social programs is enormous. Last year, taxes—

the largest revenues were the center-right Moderate, who led a centre-right coalition to 170 seats in parliament. Carlsson, in office since 1986, agreed to lead a coalition administration until Moderate Leader Carl Bildt could form a coalition government. But to do so, the 42-year-old Bildt, who called the election result "a very strong mandate for change," would need the support of the right-wing New Democracy party, which holds the

those problems, the government raised interest rates. And in hopes of creating a more entrepreneurial climate, it cut the personal income tax rate—to a high of 50 per cent from 74 per cent—and imposed a 25-per-cent value-added tax, compared with Canada's seven-per-cent GST.

Those measures angered blue-collar workers, the party's traditional supporters. Still, voters did not give the Moderates clear mandate. "We are witnessing an unprecedented polarization of politics in Sweden," said Olof Johansson, the Green party leader in the Moderate-led coalition. "There will be substantial problems in governing the country now."

It remains unclear whether a similar tax revolt will eventually take shape in Canada, which also provides a high level of social services. Last year, voters rejected 35.7 per cent of Canada's gross domestic product. In the seventh annual Maclean's/Vicereus poll, published in January, 20 per cent of respondents said that they were "very upset" about the amount of



Swedish day care centres: an inability to keep up with public demand

taxes they pay, while 40 per cent said that they were "somewhat upset." But among those frustrated taxpayers the overwhelming majority said that they would do no more than write protest letters or grumble about the situation. Stanley Weiser, an economist at Ottawa's Carleton University, comments that Canadian voting patterns "don't reveal a willingness to increase the size of the public sector." But

term subsidies and drew up plans to partially privatize some state-run industries. Sweden's swing to the political right will clearly accelerate that process. What remains to be seen, however, is how much the Moderates will reduce the social programs that every Swede has grown to regard as a birthright.

ANDREW HILSKI with correspondents' reports



Stockholm waterfront: an unprecedented polarization of politics in Sweden

highest in the West—equalled 56.9 per cent of Sweden's gross domestic product. That has led many of the Scandinavian country's wealthiest citizens, including former vice prime Björn, to choose exile in more favorable countries. Last week, Swedish voters finally rebelled against the expensive welfare state. In the Sept. 15 general election, the ruling Social Democrats and their leftist allies won just 154 seats in the 349-seat Riksdag, or parliament—and Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson and his cabinet promptly resigned. Healed the conservative Swedish daily Svenska Dagbladet: "Since 1932, the Social Democrats have dominated Swedish politics. This era has ended."

In fact, the Swedes still seem unwilling to completely tear apart their social safety net. Like many other Northerners, including Canadians, Swedes remain strong advocates with the high cost of their social programs, but demands for dismantlement are muted in the

balance of power with 25 seats. Its leader, Carl Bildt, Moderate, forces a far more extreme restructuring of the welfare state than the Moderates advocate.

As a result, political analysts say that the Moderates and Liberals, who jointly support tax cuts and privatization of the public sector, may have to form a minority government. They would then seek outside support on an issue-by-issue basis. Declared former Moderate leader Ulf Adelroth: "I'm sure there will be a neo-socialist government, but it is virtually impossible to know what it will look like."

Analysts claimed that a weakened economy caused the Social Democrats' crisis. In recent years, Sweden has suffered from high inflation and slow growth. In fact, the level of social services has declined, and there are long lines for some medical operations. At the same time, day care centres and elderly homes cannot keep up with demand. To deal with

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Drilling platform construction site in Great Miquique Cove. "This is present. Soon we will be running around the clock."

BUSINESS

BLACK GOLD ON TAP

The circling seagulls and icy, green waters of Great Miquique Cove, in Bull Arm west of Timmy Bay on the east coast of Newfoundland, are postcard perfect. Closer to shore, however, the postcard image is rarely shattered. Near the water's edge, huge drilling machines chain up the ocean floor. Nearby, workers with pneumatic drills and explosives blast through the granite terrace, while bulldozers and backhoes rumble across muddy land that only weeks ago was submerged under 40 feet of water. Last week, 150 people were preparing the industrial location for construction of the 1.3-million-ton concrete and-iron platform that by 1995 will be transported to form the hub of the deep-sea Hibernia oilfield, 150 miles southeast of St. John's. "This is present," declared Curtis Dewdney, one of the project's supervisors, while surveying the construction site. "Soon

THE HIBERNIA OFFSHORE OIL PROJECT STARTS TO PRODUCE BENEFITS FOR NEWFOUNDLAND

we will be running around the clock." Indeed, in a year, 3,000 people will be toiling on the project that is irrevocably changing both Bull Arm and the Newfoundland economy. The dramatic transformation taking place in

Bull Arm is a welcome development for most Newfoundlanders. Their province's outlook changed dramatically on Sept. 14, 1980. At that time, Ottawa, Newfoundland and a consortium of oil companies—Mobil Oil Canada Ltd., Petro-Canada, Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. and Overseas Canada Resources Ltd.—signed an agreement to spend \$5.3 billion over six years to develop the Hibernia field, which contains an estimated 523 million barrels of recoverable oil, roughly equal to Canada's total consumption in a single year. One year later, the Hibernia project is beginning to generate jobs and business activity in Newfoundland—even though few people now think that it alone will bring prosperity to the generally depressed province. Declared Charles Farney, Newfoundland's minister of development, "Hibernia is not going to be the panacea to our economic problems."

That sober view contrasts sharply with the

bold promises made by the former Conservative government of Brian Peckford. Peckford and his ministers waged a "latter fight" with Ottawa and the oil companies over the economic benefits of the Hibernia project. And while Clyde Wells's Liberal government continues to pursue other energy megaprojects, it is also determined to deliver the economy to make it more self-sufficient.

Still, Hibernia is clearly providing new strength for Newfoundland, which remains broadly a disinterested fishery and declining federal government transfer payments. In August, the province's unemployment rate hit 19.2 per cent, nearly double the national average of 10.6 per cent. At the same time, the Conference Board of Canada has predicted that the provincial economy will grow by just 2.2 per cent this year. Still, the province's outlook would have been worse without the \$220 million that has been injected into the economy since the Hibernia deal was signed. Declared Maurice Macleod, chief economist at the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, "Hibernia is the sole bright light in the Newfoundland economy."

That sentiment is widely shared among the 150 people employed at the Bull Arm construction site. Secretary general Dorey Pitcher, 37, spent 11 years working in Fort McMurray, Alta. before he, his wife and two sons returned to their native province in 1987. Unable to find a permanent job, he performed a series of odd jobs until he was hired to work at the Bull Arm site 30 months ago. Says Pitcher, "If this hadn't come along, we would be back in Alberta by now."

Under the terms of the Hibernia agreement, Ottawa promised to contribute 35 per cent of the construction costs up to a ceiling of \$1.04 billion, as well as to guarantee loans of \$1.66 billion to the oil companies that will develop the field. Overall, the province estimates that the \$5.3-billion construction phase of the Hibernia project will pump \$1.6 billion directly into the provincial economy. Newfoundlanders will get almost all of the 30,000 jobs required during the peak three-year construction period and virtually all of the 1,100 jobs during the estimated 18-year production life of the field. Declared Fraser Wilson, president of the St. John's-based Newfoundland Offshore Development Corp. (NODCO), which has a \$2.3-billion contract to design and build the concrete base for the production platform, "It may not be the source of Newfoundland, but it is certainly going to help a hell of a lot of us."

The province has cherished the dream of short riches for decades. A combination of low oil prices and production cutbacks between Ottawa and Newfoundland kept the project on the back burner since the field's discovery in 1979. But last year's deal cleared the way for design work to begin and for contractors to start carving an area for the huge construction project out of the wild landscape around Bull Arm.

The Bull Arm site, 100 km west of St. John's, is now among the largest construction projects in Canada. Piers have been driven, acres of trees cleared and millions of tons of rock blasted. Concrete-making facilities, steel fabrication shops and a dry dock are now being built. As well, contractors are under way on a seawater, complete with a gymnasium, swimming pool and tavern, to accommodate 3,000 workers.

The real work at Bull Arm, however, begins in April, when construction starts on the massive reinforced-concrete base, known as the gravity base structure, that will rest on the seafloor. The base will consist of over three million cubic feet of concrete and 60,000 tons of reinforcement steel. When complete, it will be capable of sustaining 1.3 million tonnes of oil—equal to two weeks of production—and will have the strength to withstand a collision with any of the iceberg commonly found in the North Atlantic, such as the one that in 1912 sank the Titanic 90 miles south of the Hibernia site.

Adjacent to Great Miquique Cove, workers will assemble the production and drilling equipment, helicopter deck, accommodations and

Business Notes

THE REICHMANNS TAKE CONTROL
The Hibernia Reichmanns family will gain majority control of the remnants of Camco Corp. as part of a complicated proposal by its instructors. The troubled real estate company, often added to the family's existing holdings, the deal, which includes 50 per cent of the 60-story Scotia Place tower in downtown Toronto that they do not already own, will give the Reichmanns control of assets of the development office spun in the city.

INTEREST RATES FALL
The Bank of Montreal, moving before its major competitors, lowered its prime lending rate by a quarter of a percentage point, to 6.25 per cent. The bank predicts that rates will decline further than fall due to continued weakness in the recovery.

TRUCKERS CAUSE CHAOS
Hundreds of angry Canadian truckers blockaded a Wharfedale loader churning for three days and slowed the delivery of parts to auto factories across southern Ontario. The truckers were protesting Ottawa's deregulation of their industry. Managers at General Motors and Chrysler plants said almost 6,000 workers have early on the second day of the action because of parts shortages.

MORE LOANS FOR ROMANIA
The federal government promised to lend Romania up to \$115 million to enable it to complete a controversial Canadian-designed canal and power station. The \$1-billion facility has suffered through frequent delays and cost overruns since construction began in 1979—and it is still only half completed.

CENTRAL CAPITAL SHARES SUE
Shares in money-fund Central Capital Corp. and its troubled subsidiary, Central Guaranty Trust Ltd., landed shortly following newspaper reports that RBC Inc. will help pay for a failing war for the trust company. Central is suing the company's headquarters that week to consider how competing offers for Guaranty Trust.

A POSSIBLE LUMBER WAR
Sixty-two out of the 100 U.S. senators signed a letter to President George Bush demanding that he impose a retaliatory 15-per-cent tax on Canadian softwood lumber imports. Earlier this month, Trade Minister Michael Wilson removed a 10-per-cent import tax that Ottawa imposed on U.S. softwood in 1986, in response to U.S. claims that Canadian unfairly subsidized lumber products.

other facilities that will sit on top of the concrete base. In mid-1993, these parts will be moved offshore and connected to the base. Then, the entire 736-foot-high platform will be moved to the field. When Hiberna production finally begins a year later, it's possible flow lines will carry the oil to the huge platform from the 60 to 80 acres of drilling wells on the field.

From there, the crude will be sent via scattered pipelines, Hiberna officials have said. But they have also said they have decided to use oil tankers to carry the oil to the huge platform from the 60 to 80 acres of drilling wells on the field. From there, the crude will be sent via scattered pipelines, Hiberna officials have said. But they have also said they have decided to use oil tankers to carry the oil to the huge platform from the 60 to 80 acres of drilling wells on the field.



Blasting near shores 'everything else in this province is dead'

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For now, competition is fierce for Hiberna's dollars. In fact, the firm with the contract to design and build the concrete base, has already awarded 40 subcontracts, with 200 more to follow. And that does not include hundreds of contracts awarded from other parts of the project, such as the \$500-million job of building the main components of the upper part of the offshore production platform.

The project is also attracting bids from specialist firms elsewhere in Canada and from around the world. Many of them have found it

convenient to form joint ventures with Newfoundland companies to take advantage of the project's Canadian content provisions. Already, an estimated 40 partnerships have been forged between local companies eager to absorb advanced foreign technology and firms experienced in offshore oil production in Newfoundland, the United States, Scotland and the Netherlands.

Hiberna contracts provide a chance of success for many local players. "Without the work at Bull Arm, we could have a tough time staying afloat," says Versar South, a partner in Greco's Service Station Ltd., located 10 km

north of Bull Arm, which has a contract to install hydro-electric work at the construction site. John Allen, president of Sheppard, Hedges, Green Ltd., an engineering firm that is designing the layout for the Bull Arm camp. "Outside of Hiberna, everything else in this province is dead."

The project has also sparked renewed interest in further exploration of Newfoundland's shores. Newfoundland Energy Minister Ben Gibbons has said that he expects the Terra Nova field, discovered in 1984, 25 miles southeast of Hiberna, to be in production before the end of the decade. Before the province's "Energy Plan" he says that Hiberna will be the first step in a viable offshore oil industry for the province.

Since Newfoundlanders, like the 1,800 residents of Antigonish, are already looking beyond the flurry of construction activity at Bull Arm. Developers are planning a 360-acre site in the town to house workers at the nearby project. But the town has also made a non-surety price of land for development to encourage businesses to remain in the area after the Hiberna project has been completed. "We need to attract jobs that will still exist after 1995," says Thomas O'Leary, the town's mayor. Hiberna's oil, O'Leary hopes, will provide the pump of economic development for many years to come.

JOHN DOMONT is Bull Arm

GENERATING NEW WEALTH

For many Newfoundlanders, it is a source of rage and a symbol of optimism: profit from three provinces' natural resources. In 1990, the Premier of Newfoundland approved a 60-year accord to sell most of the power generated by Labrador's massive Churchill Falls hydroelectric development to Hydro Quebec, at bargain basement prices. The Quebec utility was the only outside purchaser of the power and it negotiated a contract for favorable management. It says Newfoundland just \$96 million a year for the electricity while selling a similar amount to the United States for an estimated \$600 million. Now, Newfoundland officials are negotiating a new agreement to sell electricity from two new generating stations on the Churchill River to three neighbors—but at a much higher price.

Declared Cyril Alary, chairman of the province's Churchill Falls Electric Corp. Ltd. and its chief negotiator. "Any one deal with Quebec will be much different from the earlier arrangement."

Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells's government seeks new sales to further harness the province's potential. The government-owned Churchill River. The proposed \$11.4-billion project is almost as large as Quebec's recently postponed James Bay project. It calls for the damming and development of two new sites downstream from the existing 5,428-megawatt plant on the Churchill, and it is an integral part of the province's long-term development strategy for the chronically depressed province. That the government, now again, needs a long-term buyer in order to make the ambitious project economically viable. Newfoundland still would continue less than a third of the estimated 3,856 megawatts that the new stations would be able to generate.

Until last year, however, Newfoundland's talks with Hydro Quebec were stalled over the

province's demand that renegotiation of the 1989 agreement become part of any new agreement. But in January, 1993, Wells's government dropped that condition. Since then, says Development Minister Charles Flett, "The tone of the negotiations has changed dramatically."

But when it came and Newfoundland officials struck a deal, other Newfoundlanders' claims—including a native land claim that covers the area where the new dams would be built. In July, Ottawa, Newfoundland and the Innu Nation, an organization that represents Labrador's 1,500 native residents, began formal negotiations to resolve the claim. But those talks likely will continue for years. Says Innu Nation president Peter Penashah, "This project should not go ahead while the land claims question remains unsettled." As a result, it seems unlikely that the rugged Churchill's potential will be fully developed for many years.

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Returning fire

Ontario's Bob Rae defends his record

Bob Rae, Ontario's first New Democratic Party premier, has been under fire from the province's business community since his government took power a year ago. Among the party's most controversial initiatives are to provincial \$9.7-billion budget deficit and proposed labor law reforms that would dramatically reduce workers' rights. In an interview with *Maclean's* editors, Rae explained why he has retreated on some issues but is standing firm on others. *By Carolyn Karpman*

Maclean's: A month ago, the government seemed to be trying to spend its way out of the recession, but now you are talking about the need for restraint. Why the change?

Rae: I think we have come to feel very strongly that we need to emphasize both. We can only do as much on the revenue side, in terms of how much we put into the economy. The other message is that budget [regarding the deficit] was, "That's as high as we can go, folks."

Maclean's: Don't recent forecasts suggest that the deficit is going to be much higher?

Rae: I am not interested in forecasts. I am interested in getting the numbers under control. There were a lot of comments about, you know, "The NDP thinks the deficit is nothing to worry about." That has never been our perspective. But we cannot get spooked by it. We have to recognize that as a recession, you are going to have a deficit.

But there are some practical things to do with your money that make more sense than others. We really believe that we've got to invest in infrastructure. We've got to target more industrial investment, we've got to target more on research and development, and we've got target industry to recognize that that's the business, as well. That means we're going to have to spend more wisely and get people to recognize that there are other programs that have to be looked at.

Maclean's: Does that mean you are prepared to cut back programs as great like social services, education and health?

Rae: It's not a matter of cutting so much as it is of controlling the increase. I do not want to get into a rhetoric where we are talking about

wholesale cuts. That's not what's involved. **Maclean's:** Employees have lost hundreds of thousands of dollars recently because of postal disruptions. Another strike stopped millions of dollars of grain shipments out, in Toronto, some businesses were hurt by a transit strike. Do you have intent on bringing in legislation to give workers more power?



Rae: 'I am interested in getting the numbers under control'

Rae: In the public sector, we want to create a more mature relationship. We want a very careful discussion about job security issues versus how much the public sector can afford as a one-, two- or three-year period. In terms of the labor relations that we are planning, it is a matter of our asking what is causing the economy chronic of labor relations in the country. In my view, it comes from many factors, one of which is union insensitivity. That is a fact of life that creates a greater tendency for conflict. And second, I think there has been an assumption on both sides that they could ignore each other's problems. The reality of the Canadian economy today is that nobody can afford to ignore other people's problems. Labor cannot afford to ignore management's concerns about

survival, about competitiveness, about costs, about markets, about productivity. Those are all legitimate issues that are real and that labor needs to address. At the same time, management cannot afford to take the view that labor is illegitimate and does not have a role to play, or that authoritarian management structures are the way to go for the future.

Maclean's: Did your specific proposals seem to favor the unions?

Rae: All I am saying is that if you have my kind of legal restrictions on the ability of an employer to bring in outside people during a labor dispute, in my view that contributes to a greater sense of stability. That has certainly been the experience in Quebec. The fundamental question that the business community has to

come to terms with is, does it want to have trade unions at all or does it want to work from the premise that trade unions are bad and need to be destroyed? If it is the second view, that really is not constructive. It is a recipe for more warlike. I guess what I would say to the business community is, we're going to be here for a while longer, and dialogue is a two-way street. Of course, you have those in the business community whose view is, "Screw them. We'll blow them out of the water in three years and why the hell should we talk to them?" And that's something which, frankly, we are trying to break down.

Maclean's: Did you think that's not the version of most members of the business community? The union provoked reaction is, "Well, if things are bad, we will just leave the province."

Rae: We're not anxious to knowing what is going on in the world and knowing that our cooperation is with Quebec, Manitoba and the other provinces, but frankly, it is necessary with other jurisdictions in the United States.

But look at what is going on. Let me give you an example. Employees say, "Employment equity is some wacky idea that Bob Rae thought up, and who are these people anyway?" Well, the Americans have more advanced legislation on equal opportunity at the federal and state level than we do in Canada. To think that somehow we are way ahead, and these are wacky and wacky ideas that have never been looked at anywhere else, is just nonsense. I am not denying the problems, and there are issues we have to address. For a long time, the view was that every time an employer started talking about competitiveness, he was bluffing. I think that the greater understanding now is that they are not, that the pressure is real. So people, I think, have to pay attention. □

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BUILT FOR THE HUMAN RACE



Canada's military tragedy

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

I couldn't have been crap, but somewhere Marcel Masse managed to miss a defence policy paper last week that sports the Che Guevara and the Gold War—the likelihood of similar confrontations taking place again.

None of the proposed scenarios or intended purchases of weapons systems advances Canada's capability to deal with any future Balkan, Russian, or to enforce United Nations or American flag-ops. Nothing is added to our military capability to establish sovereignty over the Arctic, nor is there any concrete move to allow the department of national defence to begin closing its obsolete bases.

Last year, an internal study documented that despite its \$12-billion annual budget and troop strength of 85,000, National Defence on emergency call could field only 5,000 combat-ready soldiers, two CF-18 jets and one ship. (Actually, a destroyer requires 40 mph-hour sailing alert, and the troops would need more than half a day to cluster because they are stationed across the country.) None of that bizarre state of comical unreadiness has been altered by the new defence plans. We still have no effective way of using the armed forces to deal with ecological disasters, a major hostage-taking or any other unforeseen civilian crisis.

The one major improvement announced by Masse was withdrawal of most of our NATO brigade from Lake and Baden-Söllingen by 1995. Our troops have been standing watch on the Rhine for four decades. And the only times we went to war during that long interval—the Korean conflict in 1950 and the Gold War earlier this year—the NATO brigade either did not exist or was not needed.

The military value of our NATO commitment evaporated a decade ago when Canada's soldiers were relegated to providing a vague backup capability for the 7th Armoured Army and the German 2nd Corps. With the Warsaw Pact busy self-destructing, there is no longer even a symbolic excuse to maintain 38-900 Canadians in Germany at a cost of more than

*To have Arctic
sovereignty protected by
the only country that
challenges it means we
have become squatters
on our own land*

\$1.1 billion a year. Only Hanso Ltd., the local meat dealer, will miss the departing Canadians.

Apart from the fact that it took so long, the residual mystery of the Canadian withdrawal from Europe is why, even now, we're planning to maintain 1,100 troops at a yet-to-be-specified non-NATO base. What will they do? Guard some German village against an imminent invasion from Moldova?

At the same time, under Masse's defence plan, we are cancelling the most meaningful of commitments, the long-standing pledge to dispatch a battalion of combat-ready troops to help defend Norway. That bit of derring-do, destined in the best bit of the Cold War when Europe's northern flanks were exposed to Soviet aggression, never had the benefit of the slightest bit of reality about it.

Norway sensibly does not allow foreigners to store weapons on its soil so that if any invasion occurs, we would have to ship our troops and their equipment by freighter—which might be marginally useful only if the warring Soviets collapse as by backing off their invasion for a couple of weeks—hardly a likely scenario. Since Norway can easily be invaded in one day, after lunch.

(In fact, a polite delay by the Russians

wouldn't have helped as much even during the Cold War, because there are only a handful of deep-sea merchant ships still flying the Canadian flag that could be commandeered for such an assignment—and none of them is suitable for troop transport. The only alternative would be to send our soldiers to Norway on an Air Canada west side, but those tickets go pretty fast.)

The worst aspect of the Masse review is that while he reduced our permanent force to 76,000 from 84,000, he left intact an infrastructure of domestic bases suitable to a navy, army and air force of at least 120,000. By just closing down a single domestic base, he failed to reduce significantly the dollar drain that prevents Canada's forces from being able to afford modern equipment.

At least 20 bases could be shut immediately with no drop in military efficiency. Liberal associate defence critic Fred Miller has pointed out that when retirement totals are reduced to 76,000, there will be one National Defence building for every two members of the Forces (Defence is Canada's largest landlord; the department owns 23,000 buildings covering 130 million square feet.)

The basic function of any national defence force is to leave what's yours as well as its borders. We don't. Six years after the U.S. Coast Guard icebreaker Polar Sea traversed the Northwest Passage without our permission and Ottawa promised to exert Canada's sovereignty, we have done nothing except to cancel the Polar 8 extension that was supposed to patrol the North as our last.

Apart from the least Rangers who have been given an 800 number to call in case they spot any trouble, about the only tactic remaining in our northern arsenal is that applied as a comment by Australia's chief of defence staff, Australia he would defend his country against an invasion across the sparsely populated northern plains, he replied "I'd wait two weeks and then send somebody to bury them."

It was a good answer, but it doesn't resolve our problem because the Americans have already deployed our occupying of the North. Masse has now officially abandoned any pretence that we can patrol our northern waters by declaring that "The best way to defend our sovereignty is within a coalition with the United States." To have our Arctic sovereignty protected by the only country that has challenged it is the ultimate surrender. We have become squatters on our own land.

As Desmond Morton, the country's best military historian, has pointed out, Canada is "unintentionally indefensible and invulnerable. By so magnificent effort could 28 million Canadians protect the country from either of two powerful neighbors by their own unaided efforts. At the same time, no one is going to attack Canada without taking on the world's greatest military power."

That may be the ultimate answer—that we stop pretending we can defend ourselves and become a client state of the Pentagon. That may be the ultimate answer, but it would also mean the end of Canada as a once proud and independent country.

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A PAIN IN THE BACK

BACK AILMENTS HAVE BECOME ONE OF THE MOST DISTRESSING HUMAN PROBLEMS

In his 21 seasons as a National Hockey League referee, Bruce Hood came to expect periodic back pain as part of a hazardous occupation that involves dodging punches and receiving no-fights. But Hood, who now owns a travel agency in Milton, Ont., near Toronto, said that he was not prepared for the excruciating pain that he experienced in July, seven years after he retired as a referee. The pain originated in his lower back and traveled down his left leg to the top of his toes. Hood, 55, spent five days in hospital, and doctors scheduled him for surgery on Sept. 3 to repair a damaged disc, one of the fibrous cushions that separate the vertebrae and act as shock absorbers. Then, Hood said, he learned that a new, noninvasive treatment might ease his condition. As a result, he cancelled the operation a mere 24 hours before it was scheduled. In the weeks since, Hood has received only treatments on an innovative device called a decompression table, developed by Toronto physician Alan Dyer. Hood has joined the ranks of millions of people around the world suffering from either crippling back pain and searching for new ways of easing it.

The decompression table, manufactured by Toronto-based Vit-Tech Inc., was approved for sale in the United States earlier this year by the Food and Drug Administration and it is already being used by prominent clinics including Toronto Blue Jays manager Cito Gaston and Pittsburgh Penguins superstar Mario Lemieux (page 36). But despite testimonials to its pain-relieving abilities, Dyer and his associates concede that they expect to encounter skepticism in the medical community. That is because back problems, as most experts acknowledge, are among the most common and most perplexing afflictions known. Medical and other professionals estimate that eight out of 10 Canadians suffer from back pain at some time in their lives. And some add that it is the second most common cause of absenteeism at the workplace, behind the common cold.

The decompression table is just one of several new high-tech devices developed in Canada for treating back pain. One of the most

recent and innovative devices was developed in Montreal by Serge Gracovetsky, a 47-year-old Concordia University professor of electrical engineering and president of Spine Medical Technologies Ltd. Gracovetsky said that he spent almost 30 years on what he calls a "spinecope." It allows physicians to measure with unprecedented accuracy the movement of spinal muscles, ligaments and discs, which are known as "soft tissue," as opposed to the so-called hard tissue of the spinal cord itself. Said Gracovetsky: "This is a totally new approach to the problem."

The spinecope consists of 24 light-emitting mechanisms that attach to the back in a straight line from the top of the spine to the buttocks. As the patient performs stretch and rotation exercises prescribed by a physician, the mechanisms emit infrared light, not visible to the human eye, which allows a camera to photograph the movement of the soft tissue surrounding the spine. The images are fed into a computer and displayed on a screen. Gracovetsky said that the U.S. Food and Drug Administration approved the sale of the machine in 1987. Since May, 1988, his company has sold 45 spinecopes to hospitals, clinics and universities in Canada and the United States, at \$205,000 each. Gracovetsky said that as of last fall, his machines have assessed 26,000 patients, and that Spinecopes will hold a "meet" conference in Washington in November to discuss the machine's performance.

Skepticism: Spoken for by companies that have purchased spinecopes say that the equipment allows a doctor to determine accurately and objectively whether certain muscles or ligaments are functioning properly. Joel Shapiro, president of the Atlantic Back Institute in St. John's, Nfld., said that he and his husband, Elvira, an orthopedist, bought a spinecope a year ago and have treated about 240 patients. Most of them were referred to the institute by the Workers' Compensation Commission of Newfoundland. Shapiro added that in almost every case the spinecope showed that certain groups of muscles and ligaments were not functioning properly. Said Shapiro: "We can get images of individual vertebrae motion and age. This is moving or 'No, it's not.' For the first time, we have something objective."

Dr. Fathima Padula, director of biomechanics at the Neenan County Medical Center in Long Island, N.Y., said that his center has been using a spinecope for only a month and has been able to develop specific treatment programs for all 20 of the people tested. She claimed that with



Back exercise class at Toronto YMCA: many sufferers are looking, unsuccessfully, for immediate, lasting relief

the aid of the machine, doctors can determine more accurately what areas of the back need rehabilitation. Said Padula: "Now, we can say the patient has low-back pain but the upper back is really where the problem is, so we're going to concentrate on developing the upper back."

Despite the availability of such computer-based high-tech equipment, some back specialists contend that the medical profession still has a poor understanding of the problem—add only modest success in treating it. Dr. Randolph Hall, a Toronto-based orthopedist and founder of the Canadian Back Institute, a nationwide chain of privately owned clinics, said that chiropractors are generally just as good as doctors at relieving back pain. He also noted that treatment for the wear back problem can vary widely from community to community, as from one country to another. Added Jody Rose Pitt, executive director of the Toronto-based Back Association of Canada, an educational organization that keeps its 2,000 members informed on new treatments: "I have the distinct impression that what's wrong with your back depends on the decade in which it was diagnosed, which is very depressing."

Still, those who suffer from back problems can usually describe, in graphic detail, where they hurt and how much. Former referee Hood said that he used to wake up, drenched in sweat, with a pain that felt worse to him than the shoveling from his knees back to his toes. For his part, Robert Norman, a 58-year-old professor of biomechanics at the University of Waterloo in southwestern Ontario, conducts research on back injuries and suffers from back pain himself. He recalled that two or three times a year, he falls victim to an attack of muscle spasm in his

back and spends a couple of days in bed recovering. He explained that the pain feels like a severe muscle cramp and each spasm lasts about a minute. And Claire Kotzko, a 44-year-old computer software salesman in Calgary, said that she developed severe pain in her lower back about three years ago simply from reaching down to pick up a shoe. The pain was so severe, she says, that she could barely bend her back or stand up for three weeks.

Stress: Indeed, while back problems have traditionally been associated with such blue-collar occupations as construction and factory work, experts point out that they can affect anyone (page 54). Professional athletes frequently suffer debilitating back pain caused by injuries suffered on the playing field. Los Angeles Kings superstar centre Wayne Gretzky missed 17 games during the 1989-1990 season because of muscle spasms in his lower back, and he missed 11 games when he was hit hard from behind during a Canada Cup game in Montreal on Sept. 14. As well, German tennis star Boris Becker, ranked No. 2 in the world, has been sidelined for several weeks this season with back problems.

But according to many experts, white-collar office workers are just as likely to suffer back problems because of long-term, low-level stress as the muscles and ligaments in the back. Said Sherman Kucner, a professor of rehabilitation medicine at the University of Alberta in Edmonton.

"The longer you stay in a sedentary position, the greater are your chances of suffering back pain." Indeed, the single most important factor contributing to white-collar back problems is that people spend too much time sitting. The problem is exacerbated by poor sitting posture, and by

WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS ARE JUST AS LIKELY TO SUFFER BACK AILMENTS

the use of chairs with adjustable back support.

Steven Brackley, the director of seating research at the Toronto Rehabilitation Engineering Center in Burlington, said that studies have shown that North Americans on average spend half of their waking hours seated and that 75 percent of all workers sit while doing their jobs. That makes workers more vulnerable to back ailments, Brackley explained, because prolonged sitting passes most of the job of supporting the body mass to the job of supporting the pelvis to certain related groups of muscles and ligaments.

stagnation that both public and private employers with more than 25 workers have to give employees 15 minutes of alternate work every two hours in order to avoid sore wrists, eye strain and back pain.

Some physiotherapists and chiropractors now offer sessions for corporate employees in order to reduce the incidence of back injuries. Frances Wilson, co-founder of the Back School of Calgary, an education organization that is part of a physiotherapy clinic, said that she and her partner, Patricia Holmes, stress preven-

tions to the men and hold them for up to five seconds.

A second exercise involves raising the arms, interlocking the fingers and raising the palms upward. The position should be held for 30 to 60 seconds and repeated three times. Collis said that he has recommended 16 simple exercises that reduce an individual's chances of developing back pain if they are performed consistently over a period of time.

An exercise program, experts say, must be tailored to suit an individual's needs. Still, for many, walking is the ideal exercise. Walking improves general cardiovascular fitness while it reduces leg muscles, without jarring or straining bones and muscles. Other exercises, including cycling and swimming, accomplish the same goals. But despite the obvious benefits of exercise, Wilson says that many sufferers are looking for more immediate or dramatic relief from their chronic pain. They find it difficult to accept that they have to exercise up to five times weekly for the rest of their lives, she adds. "You can't break your back just once and expect to have an exercise," said Wilson. "It's [the same thing with] your back. You can't exercise just once and expect to have a healthy back."

Figures compiled by the Workers' Compensation Board of Ontario show that back problems resulted in more claims for lost wages than any other type of injury last year. The board handled 56,616 back-injury claims in 1999, down slightly from the previous year. Back injuries accounted for 31 per cent of the total lost-time claims that the board processed.

The last year, Collis said that Canadian Back Institute clinics treat 25,000 patients annually—but that only two per cent of them require surgery.



Inventor Greaves with a spinoscope. "This is a totally new approach to the problem."

The long-term result is fatigue, stress and—eventually—pain. Said Mary Young, a physiotherapist with the Glen Sutherland Sports Medicine Clinic at the University of Alberta, "It has become almost a jargon to talk about the discipline as the person most likely to develop back pain." She added, "People came to us who may attribute their injury to sports, but it is more likely to be related to their day-to-day habits. They're at all day, then try to participate in some activity."

Increasingly, governments and private companies alike are recognizing that working in an office can lead to back problems. Last December, San Francisco's city council passed a bylaw to protect employees from injuries caused by prolonged and repetitive work performed on video display terminals. Richard Lee, senior industrial hygienist with the city's public health department, said that the bylaw

trive back care. They point out that maintaining strong abdominal, leg and back muscles can go a long way towards preventing back injuries. They also stress the importance of weight control. Said Wilson, "Men with large stomachs are putting their backs under the same strain as pregnant women. As the abdominal muscles stretch, the muscles and ligaments in the lower back tighten, and this results in instability."

Toronto's Toronto chiropractor Richard Collis, whose corporate clients include Merit Travel, Royal LePage Real Estate Services Ltd. and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, said that he teaches office workers to do a series of stretching exercises while sitting at their desks or computers. One is meant to release tension and soreness in the shoulders and neck area. Collis recommends a series of three stretches, in which the shoulders are raised

to the level that the shoulders are raised when a person is sitting. He said that this is a key step in controlling the pain, which usually involves teaching the patient how to improve his posture. There, the client prescribes a set of exercises aimed at fully restoring mobility. Perhaps in which the individual only lifts the upper half of the body

are usually prescribed. A second set of exercises, including sit-ups, is designed to strengthen stomach, back and side muscles to prevent a recurrence of the back pain. Said Hall, "Treating people to instead their back pain is a tremendous asset, because they stop worrying about it."

Exercise. Still, other specialists say that they are focusing on the discs and vertebrae in the primary source of back problems. Dr. Stanley Gerstebach, who left Toronto's Sunnybrook Hospital in July to become director of research and education at the Texas Back Institute in Houston, said that the spinoscope is not as accurate as other measuring technologies.

Gerstebach claimed that his research has shown that spinal instability, or movement of the vertebrae, is more likely to cause serious back pain than stressed muscles and ligaments. He added that he has developed a "revolutionary concept" for measuring spinal instability that involves the implanted use of X-rays and computers. He said that his method of measurement allows for early detection of spinal instability, and that the problem can be corrected through proper exercises. Said Gerstebach, "We use exercises to strengthen the muscles and stabilize the vertebrae. We train the muscles to do the same job as a brace."

Besides the array of approaches and treatments from the medical profession, health-product manufacturers are continually introducing new devices aimed at relieving back pain. Michael Sherwood, manager of the Back Store Inc. in Toronto, said that consumers can



Gerstebach just after injury: a hard check in Canada Cup play produced agonizing back spasms.

choose from dozens of different cushions, but the most popular device is a portable backrest manufactured in Toronto by a company called Olson Forme Inc. The FPO backrest, which has a plastic case that is wrapped in foam, is about as thick as a mattress. It features a removable sliding cushion that provides extra support for the small of the back or any other area of preference. Sherwood added that 70 per cent of his clients had the store recom-

mended to check by a chiropractor or doctor.

For most chronic back-pain sufferers, it is one more step in the search for relief. And relief may be the best that most victims of back pain will be able to find. As most of the experts acknowledge, despite the encouraging and optimistic predictions, there is still so much to do as a complex cure.

DARCY JENNIFER
BARBARA ROCKENS in Toronto

STOPS IN THE SEARCH FOR RELIEF



The Wet Vest is used for exercising in the water.



Olson Forme helps support the back while seated.



Lumbar-Air gives the lower back adjustable support.



Gooene bumps are used to rub the feet, neck or back.

AN ATTACK ON PAIN

A NEW TREATMENT RELIEVES DISCOMFORT

For Dr. Alan Dyer, agony was the mother of invention. Ten years ago, the inventive Ontario physiotherapist of heavily arthritic herniated discs—a compression of a joint in his spine. But after conventional therapy, including drugs and hot and cold packs, failed to ease his excruciating pain, he said that he began to fantasize the device behind his much-lamented Via-D treatment table. "It was either staying in bed for three months or figuring out how to fix my back," he said. "So I developed this table." The table, on which patients have their spines carefully and cautiously stretched, is quickly building a reputation among some spine and physiotherapists as a major step forward in the treatment of lower-back pain. Dyer, a 50-year-old former physicist who is a doctor of both medicine and pharmacology and who retired from the ministry in 1968, still practices where he created the mystery of his herniated disc. And he said that the memory fuels his excitement about the prospects for the Via-D—or vertebrae axial decompression—therapy that he says has had so successfully eased pain in about 70 per cent of the more than 200 patients who have undergone it.

With thousands of Canadians and critics around the world suffering from lower-back problems, Dyer says that his invention could provide huge financial rewards. But he added that he has not let the potential for profit cloud his medical judgment. Before he allowed the Via-D table to go into commercial production (first print in 1993), he submitted it for clinical trials at University Hospital in London, Ont., and at the RCA Rio Grande Regional Hospital in Nova Scotia. More recently, clinics in Brampton, a Toronto suburb, and Pittsburgh, despite treating a small group of patients.

Discomfort: Dr. Dyer's Via-Tech Inc. decided to accelerate the table's commercial launch when reports of its effectiveness reached therapists for some professional sports franchises. Dyer is currently treating Gus Gasko, manager of the Toronto Blue Jays baseball club, who in July was forced to turn over the club to its interim manager because of the debilitating pain of a herniated disc. And Mauro Lemerise, the Pittsburgh Penguins' star center who was forced to turn down an invitation to play for Canada at the recent Canada Cup hockey tournament because of back spasms, was successfully rehabilitated in two weeks of treatments at the Pittsburgh clinic in August. But while the table has been registered with federal government health agencies in both Canada and the United States, it is still

in limited circulation and viewed with skepticism by some experts.

Still, while doctors using the table say that they are excited by its capabilities, they insist that it is not a cure-all for every kind of back pain. Dr. John Tansie, a Brampton general practitioner who has had a Via-D table in his office for a year, says that he uses it only to treat problems in the lumbar, or lower, region of the spine. He added that those with upper-back pain,



Gasko: carefully stretching his spine

congenitally deformed spines or muscle pain will not get any relief from the treatment. "People with muscle problems will know right away that the table is not for them," Dyer said. "The stretching will make their pain worse."

The theory that drives the Via-D table is simple. Patients lie head-on at a 15-degree angle, gripping their hips while they grasp handles at their feet. Then, while the patient breathes on, the table gradually pulls the spine at pressures ranging from 50 to 100 lb., depending on the needs of the sufferer. On a routine of one minute on, one minute off, for half an

hour, the table gradually stretches the spine, pulling apart the vertebrae by a microscopic amount, and then gently lets them return to their proper alignment.

Dyer told Maclean's that his original plan had been to stretch the spine and temporarily relieve the pain of herniated and degenerative discs in the lumbar region of the spine. Through injury or degeneration, the discs at the joints between vertebrae become compressed, squeezing out the protective gelatinous material that cushions the joint. What he had not anticipated, Dyer said, was that clinical trials provided evidence that stretching the vertebrae actually creates suction, which draws the bulging herniated material back into the joint. In effect, it restores the joint to its original, unharmed state, he said.

Praise: Many of those who have gazed in awe at the high price for the equipment (about \$10,000) have been grateful for the relief. One patient, a former professional hockey referee, has been relieved of most of the severe back pain that had forced him into hospital last July. He added that he received his first treatment in the New York locker room at Toronto's Skyline lounge with Gasko. Dyer would not talk about his work with Gasko because he did not want to appear to be giving publicity for a product from his patient's pen. But, according to Hood, "Chris is about as low as low, but the day he walked in he looked about five feet eight. In the first three days, he was like three different people. There was a tremendous change in him. He said, 'I don't know whether God did it or the machine did it, but I feel better.'"

And Lee Kasper, an Ontario, Calif., businessman who flew to Toronto for treatment after suffering through seven years of severe pain, said that he had been scheduled for surgery when he heard of Dyer's claim relative about the Via-D treatment table. "I was going to make sure I tried everything before surgery," Kasper said in an interview. After six days of treatments with Tansie, Kasper said that he was completely pain-free. He added, "I feel perfect today. It's too good to be true."

Scientific documentation of the table's effectiveness has been compiled by Dr. Gustavo Ramos, the neurosurgeon who conducted the tests in Texas. Ramos and radiologist Dr. William Martin evaluated the treatment for publication in *Spine*, a Philadelphia-based medical journal. The paper is currently being submitted to Ramos and Martin conducted the treatments of 40 patients and followed up by assessing them six months after their therapy. Ramos said that seven out of 10 patients appeared to have significantly improved, and



Hood receiving treatment on the Via-D table: some patients' agony was relieved in two sessions

names of the treatment's effectiveness spread to other physicians who then referred new patients to him. "Once the information about the table gets around," he said, "I think that more people will want to try the treatment."

Tansie, too, is preparing a clinical report for publication in *Spine*, and he says that he has been unable to find any danger with the treatment. "The worst thing that can happen is that the patients won't feel any better," he said. "But they are not going to feel any worse."

According to its users, the table is effective not only on herniated discs, but also on misaligned facet joints and degenerative discs. Ramos said that the table was most effective in resolving hernia, or vertebrae problems, that had slipped out of alignment. In many such cases, Ramos said, patients who were unable to move without experiencing severe pain were fully relieved by having their spines stretched and

restored in one or two sessions on the table.

Dyer says that another application of the Via-D is in conditioning athletes. James Kitzberger, the Pittsburgh physician who treated Lemerise last month, says that other members of the Penguins have used the table for stretching after severe exertion. Kitzberger said that although Lemerise no longer experiences the back spasms that forced him out of the Canada Cup, he continues to use the treatment table. "It helps him maintain an effective range of motion and performance," Kitzberger said.

But some health officials have expressed skepticism. Specialists at several Canadian clinics told Maclean's that they needed to see more scientific evidence of the table's effectiveness over a longer period before they could endorse its use. And others question the price. "The cost sounds like it would be prohibitive

for the average clinic," said James Cole-Morgan, a therapist at the University of British Columbia Sports Medicine Clinic.

Skepticism: After years of development and what Dyer describes as "indicators" of doctors' research upgrading—provided by Dyer (although hospitals and other clinics supplied materials and services free)—Via-D is now ready for wide distribution. Michael Dene, chief executive officer of Via-Tech, said that there are about 100 manufacturers around the world who are building the parts of the table, which include the electronic components of a monitoring console. Via-Tech is negotiating with leasing companies to make the tables available to doctors on a monthly basis. Dene estimates that the company could produce 300 units a month, which would result in a steady stream of new units. But he added that to achieve greater sales, Via-Tech will have to overcome the skepticism of some physicians and physiotherapists. Said Dene, "They don't understand how something as simple could work so well."

Still, Dene says that the market for the tables is nearly limitless. He said Via-Tech has received dozens of requests from insurers and workers' compensation agencies around North America who are interested in the savings in health payments that the equipment might make possible. Dene said that a 1987 study by the Harvard School of Public Health estimated

that the health-care costs of lower-back problems were about \$25 billion a year, before accounting for lost wages. He said that surgical repair of herniated discs in the United States costs between \$7,000 and \$14,000, depending on complications, whereas many of Toronto's patients achieve the same results at a cost of \$750 to \$1,000. (Treatments are not covered under Canadian health-care programs.)

Dyer says Via-Tech with his wife, Natalie, a physician, had been in development for 10 years. "I want to reveal discs," he said. "No one has ever done that, but now I think we can do it." Natalie Dyer said that since her husband retired from the health industry, he has been busier than ever. "You can't stop him," she said. For some people with lower-back problems, Dyer's pain has become their pain.

JAMES DEACON

CELEBRITY SUFFERING

BACK PROBLEMS AFFLICT THE FAMOUS, TOO

Throughout recorded history, chronic back pain has tormented the mighty—and drawn them to unusual lengths. Some historians say that pain from an extremely twisted chest likely drove the 16th-century Russian czar Ivan IV to the brutal policies that earned him the nickname from the *Terrible, Four centuries later*, one of John F. Kennedy's secretaries, Judith Campbell, disclosed that the president was forced to lie on his back during several intense moments of a couple's love. Short-sleeved limned many contemporary athletes. Among them:

BORIS BECHER:

Earlier this month, returning back pain forced the 35-year-old German tennis star and three-time Wimbledon winner to drop out of this week's Davis Cup competition at Kansas City. Mr. Becher aggravated a chronic back problem by playing a grueling 3½-hour Swedish game in cold weather in Switzerland in May against Swedish rival Stefan Edberg. Becher's manager, Ian Tims, said that the world's second-ranked player is prone to back pain because of his large frame. Becher weighs 187 lb. and is a neck-thin, three-inch waist.

"Born one badly wrenched out," said Tims last week. "never ended play times."

VERONICA TENNANT:

The internationally renowned ballet star, who retired as one of the National Ballet of Canada's principal dancers in 1989, suffered three major back injuries during her 35-year dancing career. She says that all of her back problems resulted from hammering down on her spinal column and were caused by strenuous rehearsing. The first injury occurred in 1964, when Tennant was still a senior student at the National Ballet School, and an erasing effect nearly prevented her from embarking on a dance career. Tennant, now 44, spent one week in a body cast, and her



Becker's grueling game aggravated a chronic problem

recovery lasted a full year. Said Tennant, now a host and writer for CBC-TV's arts-and-entertainment department: "You'll hear all kinds of recommendations for back treatment, but I'm a great believer in just going flat on your back for six weeks."

WAYNE GRETZKY:

In 1990, the star center for the Los Angeles Kings missed 27 games, including one game of the Stanley Cup playoffs, because of muscle spasms in his lower back. His problems were caused by two injured foot joints in seven of 23



Tennant's long recovery

Marquardt. "I'm tall, I had a childhood back injury when I fell off a swingset and I have heavy posture." In fact, chronic back pain has intermittently sidelined Gretzky, 37, from his broadcast duties, relegating him to lead. But Gretzky says that he has prevented several past-back pain during the past three years by adopting precise pelvic tilt—a process of lying on the back with knees bent while pressing the back muscles against the floor. Asked for the medical diagnosis of his back problem, Gretzky replied with a smile. "I don't know—I hurt."

ELIZABETH TAYLOR:

The Hollywood legend's highly publicized 35-year addiction to narcotics drove and alcohol partly steered from chronic back pain. Taylor, who owns the high-priced perfume line Estée Lauder, first injured her back when she fell off a horse



Taylor's pain led to drugs

in 1943 during the filming of her first movie, *National Velvet*. Since then, she has endured a series of back operations and pain so severe that she could barely lie in Los Angeles mansion only at a wheelchair. Taylor, 58, claims that such treatment did drive her to abuse painkilling drugs, including Demerol and Percodan. "I'd had several open operations and drugs had become a crutch," the Academy Award winner told *The New York Times* in 1985.

PETER GZOWSKI:

"It's the classic case of a person who has all the things that lead to back problems," said the sportscaster, two-time host of CBC Radio's national current-affairs program

PAUL KAPLAN

With the recession fading into economic history and the doors opening wider to an ever more competitive international marketplace, Canadians must face up to the challenges before them.

We need to develop better skills through education and retraining, and we need to use our energy, imagination and drive to further develop and mobilize our strengths and to move on to greater prosperity through competitiveness. We must adopt an attitude that says, "Yes, we can."

These few entrepreneurs and innovators who can and do take on the best in the world do succeed. Their success—our success—in a global market has helped to give us one of the highest standards of living in the world, with over \$20,000 per capita in Gross Domestic Product. Exports directly account for about three million Canadian jobs.

It is true that world markets have become more fiercely competitive than ever. At the same time, markets are opening up as trade barriers come down and consumers around the world refuse to settle for less than the best product or service of the best possible price.

In fact, the opportunities that exist for Canadian firms in foreign markets have never been greater. To take advantage of that potential calls for new approaches, such as investing abroad, creating new services and products for specialized markets, transferring technology and forming partnerships with other firms around the world. We must start now.

The efforts of innovative, outward-looking companies, combined with federal programs and policies aimed at helping Canadian firms make the most of their export potential, underpins the continuing prosperity of communities across Canada.

The companies profiled in the pages of this special supplement provide a few examples of how some Canadian firms are becoming more competitive and how they are taking advantage of the assistance available to them.

Yes We Can!

Jet Set Sam



How do you catch a fish? But your boat, cut out and wait. How do you catch a buyer? You have to be more aggressive in these competitive times, you have to do more than just sit and wait.

A good example is Jet Set Sam Industries, specializing in salmon. The company not only supplies major retailers, but has also developed a mail-order sales system for its products around the world. What's more, it is building what Brian Fisher, the company's Chief Executive Officer, calls Vancouver, "the salmon capital of the universe."

The 14-year-old company is vertically integrated. As Fisher explains, "We tie our own producer and processor, and we have been a pioneer in our approach to marketing in Canada and abroad."

For a long time, we used to maintain a high-profit for our product line by retaining out processors in support areas in Canada. That would limit, so to speak, our sales. Now we are using our mail-order system in Canada as a solid financial enterprise that will drive the salmon dollar while developing exports."

Since 1985, Japanese tourists to Canada—particularly to Vancouver—has quadrupled. These tourists are among the most affluent in the world, and Jet Set Sam has devised a way to catch their eye.

"We're building a major tourist development on three floors. This will be Canada's first stacked salmon pavilion-packet history with a restaurant right in the middle. The whole place will have a 19th-century history strand in offering a view of western and production."

The plan, Fisher points out, utilizes high-level, state-of-the-art equipment and is a species, they would consider. In addition, the east wall of the factory will be made of glass so that tourists and locals alike can pull up and view it from outside. The entire structure

will house a salmon processing plant, a restaurant and a kitchen, as well as a wine and gift shop.

"Look at it this way," says Fisher. "A tourist comes in for lunch. Before he sits down and orders he can take a tour of the plant and view \$180,000 worth of salmon being processed and packaged for export."

As visionary as it is, this project is beyond the scope of many small manufacturers. Not many export marketing efforts can actually claim to be profitable through independent mail sales. However, there is support for these small producers who are not in a financial position to create a "salmon Disneyland" on the Pacific coast.

The Fisheries Division of External Affairs and International Trade Canada (EA/ITC) is active in promoting Canadian products worldwide. EA/ITC, in co-operation with Fisheries and Oceans Canada, equips Canadian producers with information, a global base, and thus a core of the best way for a small or medium-sized company to acquire affordable exposure.

The necessity to export has become apparent to many Canadian companies in the fish industry who, like Jet Set Sam, are carving out a niche for themselves on international markets.



Canadian Helicopters

Canadian Helicopters Limited of St. John's, Newfoundland, has gone through some pretty drastic changes in the last 10 years. As did many Canadian companies, it fell on hard times in the early 1980s. Employees were laid off in large numbers.

But both the company's executives and the Canadian government had faith in the firm's ability to compete in an open world market.

"We were in the same position as the rest of the economy," says Patrick Callaghan, company President. "We were sitting on a lot of expensive equipment, with just much work to do. So we took our products and services out of Canada, to places like Ecuador and Egypt—primarily to Third World countries—and sought out new business relationships with all companies and governments."

The strategy worked, it saved a company that now employs about 1,100 Canadians. The company was completely restructured in 1982 when Canadian Helicopters became a conglomerate owning some 35 Canadian helicopter companies under a corporate umbrella.

"We do offshore work, jungle seismic work and jungle exploration," explains Harold Rube in charge of Canadian Helicopters' international marketing desk. "In South America we mean doing heavy lifting."

Canadian Helicopters is very active in South America, India and Thailand. The company continues to expand its reach and is now taking a serious look in Africa and Vietnam.

"Our company competes very well around the world," Callaghan asserts proudly. "And thank God we have our trade agreements. Other countries are insulating our port with the U.S.—Mexico will be on board soon—and I think that this is all power or staff for Canadians and our ability to export."

Moreover, he points out, when a mid-sized country like Canada acquires new access to economic commerce markets like the U.S. (with a population of around 240 million) or Mexico (with a population around 80 million), real opportunities should for economic growth through export.

"The only problem is that there isn't enough of us doing it. It's a global market now. The sides of the pot are changing. You have to look outward, not inward. If you're not doing well as a company, then change your discipline to one where you can do well, and go abroad where you can bring your skills to somebody else for your own benefit and for Canada."



Michael R. Wilson

Minister of Industry, Science and Technology
and Minister for International Trade

The Prime Minister's decision to give me both the industry and the International Trade portfolios was an important step in recognizing an important fact of economic life: Canadian businesses must be competitive at home and abroad if they are to survive and prosper.

Competitiveness is composed of many factors. You need good people, natural resources, access to markets, infrastructure, research and development, technology and entrepreneurial flair. We have all these in Canada, and there is no reason why our future cannot be as bright as our past.

How we can cooperate in making the best possible use of our resources will be the subject of a national process of consultations this fall.

The challenge we face is clear. If we are to survive in the international trade arena, it will be crucial to improve our abilities in every aspect of competitiveness. In the rapidly changing configurations of world trade, we must figure out how we

can carve out market niches in the emerging strategic industries of the future.

For example, the acquisition of advanced technology resources from foreign countries is a critical component of many Canadian companies' strategies for success. There are five-point strategies, strategic alliances, technology transfer programs and related investment initiatives—all at odds to help Canadian firms participate competitively in a world economy.

In seeking your views on defining a competitiveness agenda for Canada, we are hoping to encourage new alliances between government, industry and the science and research communities in these broad areas:

- trade development, through prospecting for market opportunities and creating a positive investment climate,
- technology development, by providing Canadian industry with the tools it requires to develop world class capabilities in science and technology, and

"Why should Canadian firms not be able to compete successfully on global markets?" asks Callaghan. "Canadians are among the most highly skilled and educated people in the world. In Canada, labor costs are high, compared with some countries, but the quality of our goods and services is high, too. Our strength is in our people and their ability to develop leading-edge technologies. Our skills and knowledge are Canada's comparative edge."

Patrick Callaghan's philosophy and his company's willingness to risk Canadian expertise to enter shares has helped to make Canadian Helicopters the second largest commercial helicopter company in the world, with a fleet of approximately 232 helicopters.

Callaghan says that Canada's success has been given a solid boost by federal programs. "Extensive Airforce and International Trade Canada has been exemplary. They supported us through export development programs years ago, enabling our employees to travel abroad and find work. Canadian Helicopters has grown from that seed. We continue to use EATC services, helping us to find contracts in other countries."

Canadian Helicopters has come a long way in the past few years and has gone far to spread the word about Canadian expertise. It has developed the "Yes we can" attitude.

- training and skills development, so that Canadians will have the knowledge and the flexibility to meet the challenges of a globally competitive global market.

This is all part of contributing to what has been an enviable track record as the part of the Canadian export community.

How will we continue to enjoy this success? We must become sophisticated enough to see the real challenges and opportunities facing us.

We must invest in new technology, in new ways of working, and in the skills of our people.

Together, we must make Canada what we want it to be—a high value-added, knowledge-intensive producer of goods and services that can compete with the best the world has to offer.

Sounds Canadian

A Cluconex, Ontario, firm is poised to jump into world markets after having developed about 200 audiophiles and recording experts believe to be the best speakers available anywhere.

With 10 years of experience in developing high-tech speakers, in co-operation with the National Research Council, State of the Art Electronics has been in the process of developing to produce speakers to complement another great Canadian technological achievement—the mini-sonic IMAXCOMMAX.

Thousands of hours in prototyping, thousands of hours in measurements paid off. The company's newest and most powerful speaker is the CF 3000, custom designed for the Soundex Interchange Mix Room in Toronto (a six-channel mix room with 10 sound). The sonata design of the Mix Room was also provided by State of the Art specifically to facilitate the production of IMAXCOMMAX film sound tracks.

Soundex Interchange, Canada's largest privately owned recording studio, is currently housing the Rolling Stones, who will be producing the IMAX film rendition of their "Steel Wheels" tour using the Mix Room and State of the Art/CF 3000 sound monitor.

Both IMAXCOMMAX production capabilities and the super-powered CF 3000s, featuring ultra-sonic, notch-free frequency response, have earned up a reputation in the music world. "Since we developed the CF 3000

and the Stones began production of their film, we have had inquiries about the new speaker from Gloria Estefan and from Prince," explains Claude Fortin of State of the Art. "But new Soundex film should be one of the biggest IMAXCOMMAX productions ever made."

As president, State of the Art speakers, the entire CF line, have become a Canadian industry standard, being employed in the majority of Canadian studios.

Internationally, these speakers are installed at Stormtroop Productions in Hamburg, Germany; BMG Music (formerly RCA) in New York, Tele-lange (a television production company) in Dallas, Money Max in Nashville, Bullet Recording in Nashville, Mervyn Studio in Minneapolis, and the private studio of Martin Jackson (yes, he's Michael's brother) in Los Angeles.

"When Ken Studio in Japan inquired about our speaker line," explains Dr. Fortin, "they could not believe our published specs. There was almost a hint that we must have falsified them. Of course they eventually heard the speaker the audiophile—and purchased it."

State of the Art has pretty well saturated the Canadian market," says Fortin. "We haven't really concentrated on the export market, but that's what we are going to do."

State of the Art has already had some exposure to international markets and continues to do small amounts of business abroad, mostly through word of mouth. Current inquiries, for example, include Sony Music (formerly CBS Records) of New York. Our speakers have to be heard to be appreciated.

"Ideally we would enter into a series of strategic relationships with dealers or representatives in the U.S.," explains Fortin. "We are eager to begin working with EATC to make that happen."



We Can Help



Many small Canadian companies find themselves in the same state of export-needs as the Gloucester speaker company, yet do not know what to do next.

Fortunately, EATC and Industry, Science and Technology Canada (ISTC) provide support for Canadian entrepreneurs in a variety of ways.

In regional offices of ISTC you will find International Trade Centres, staffed by associated Trade Commissioners — who can help you become more competitive and set you on the course to export markets.

An important first step is to obtain the EATC publication "So You Want To Export."

This brochure is an excellent "lifetime" guide to the services available to Canadian industry. It begins by identifying the decision process companies should follow when considering the export market and goes on to describe the various initiatives and types of assistance available to Canadian exporters and the ways to use them to advantage.

Among the many services offered by EATC is the World Information Network for Exports (WINE) project. WINE Exports is a computer database used worldwide by Canadian Trade Commissioners and business people to match Canadian sources of supply for goods and services with international opportunities.

Another program described in the brochure is New Exports to Border States (NERS). Under this program, participants are taken to the nearest Canadian trade office across the U.S. border and led through all phases of exporting. The visit to the consulate is an excellent opportunity to use the staff's network of contacts and arrange follow-up meetings with manufacturers' representatives and potential buyers.

One of the most popular and effective services is the Program for Exporter Market Development (PEMD), a counselling assistance program designed to help Canadian business participants in an undistorted manner types of export promotion activities (including trade shows). EATC is already actively engaged in many important trade shows throughout the U.S. and around the world, assisting Canadian companies to establish and maintain a global presence.

October is Canada International Trade Month

Each year, International Affairs and International Trade Canada sponsors Canada International Trade Month (CITM) to focus the attention of the Canadian business community and all Canadians on the importance of international trade to Canada's economic well-being.

Canada International Trade Month is all about recognizing how important trade is to Canada and helping the people who help to make it happen.

CITM is a co-operative effort with other federal and provincial government departments, as well as with the Canadian Exporters' Association (CEA) and other trade-related organizations and associations. It consists of a month-long series of activities and events that focus on the success of Canadian companies. CITM informs Canadian businesses of the many programs and services available to them to maintain and improve their competitive position in the international trading arena.

The CEA, a national, independent, non-profit organization founded in 1963, is an important source of information on changing regulatory and market conditions. The CEA also provides vital linkages to members across Canada and to companies abroad.

CEA members include, among others, manufacturers, primary producers, consulting firms, builders, trading houses, transportation companies, freight forwarders, legal firms, banks and insurance companies.

The Canada Export Awards

A major component of Canada International Trade Month is the presentation of the Canada Export Award to a select group of Canadian exporters. The award honours Canadian companies for their ability to compete and succeed in some of the most

competitive markets in the world. These accomplishments are acknowledged by the Minister for International Trade in the Canada Export Award ceremony. This year's event will take place in Ottawa on October 7, 1991, in conjunction with the 95th annual meeting of the Canadian Exporters' Association.

Marketplace '91

Marketplace '91 is a unique program that gives thousands of current and prospective exporters the chance to learn about international market opportunities and to acquire specific, first-hand information on how to enter those markets. Business people meet with highly experienced Canadian Trade Commissioners in a cross-Canada series of open discussions and private meetings.

Starting in October, this year's program features a number of second trade spotter events that will be on location in key Canadian centres to conduct personal interviews with representatives of Canadian companies. Marketplace offers businesses that are already exporting, as well as those that are export-ready, the opportunity to explore their export potential with people who are best able to give them informed advice. Whether you wish to sell "retro" goods to the United States or to Western Europe, or to develop markets in the Asia-Pacific region, Eastern Europe, Latin America or the Caribbean, our experts will be there to help you discover how to take advantage of the opportunities.

For more information concerning EATC trade programs and services or to contact ISTC's Business Services Centre contact our call.

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Kate: If not for Canadian health care, 'we'd all be gone'

IMMIGRATION

A swelling exodus

Taxes force many Americans to leave Canada

A few living in New York City fear most of their life, advertising executive Elizabeth Ryle moved to Toronto in 1984 to work for a major agency. Ryle, 38, an American citizen, says that compared with New York, she found Toronto was "like a quiet, quiet town" with a New York four weeks ago shortly before her work period expired. But says that the city has been closer to move it and stay longer than she did for Canada's high taxes and cost of living. Declared Ryle: "I lived Toronto, but the Goods and Services Tax was the icing on the cake for me. Prices are already expensive. When you add taxes, it compounds your quality of life."

Although there are no statistics on how many Americans are leaving Canada for similar reasons, some accountants who prepare tax returns for U.S. citizens living in Canada say that they frequently encounter Americans who are thinking of returning home, even after long stays in Canada. They note that a growing number of married couples, in which one partner is American, are also leaving to take advantage of lower living costs, lower taxes and

cheaper housing north of the border. Says Stephen Skoger, an accountant and past president of the American Club of Toronto, a social organization for expatriate Americans: "A lot of Americans are saying, 'This is wonderful country, it's good place to raise your kids, but it's too expensive.'"

The financial differences between living in Canada and the United States are well documented in a study published earlier this year by Robert Brown, chairman of Toronto-based Price Waterhouse and company partner Rod and Gilbert. Americans, they explained, are entitled to three major tax deductions that are unavailable in Canada: interest on their mortgages, state income tax and real estate taxes. As a result, a husband and wife living in New York City and each earning \$30,000 (U.S.) would pay a total of \$16,300 in income tax, while a couple with a similar income in Toronto would pay \$30,100. The same couple would pay \$19,800 in income tax in Chicago, but in Montreal they would pay \$34,800.

For many U.S. citizens residing in Canada, the increasing tax burden of their adopted

country has become unbearable. John Sironi, a 58-year-old insurance coach, came to Canada from Westchester, Pa., in 1985 to become head coach of the Scarborough Swiss Club in suburban Toronto, but returned to the United States in August, 1988, to teach swimming and sell real estate. Sironi said that his disposable income dropped about 50 per cent during the four years he lived in Canada, largely due to rising taxes. Added Sironi: "It would take me triple as much what I could make in a national commodity down here to make a living in the Toronto area."

But expatriates based in other Canada cities or the United States, Canada's taxes, living costs and real estate prices now make it much more difficult to move employees across the border. Richard Pines, personnel manager at Toronto-based Procter & Gamble Inc., said that an employee earning \$164,000 in the United States must be paid about \$240,000 (U.S.) in order to preserve his income and lifestyle if he moves to Canada.

Professional athletes, especially baseball players, are another group of Americans reluctant to move from the United States to Canada because of tax reasons. Los Angeles-based sportscaster Richard Marx, who represents 20 major league baseball players, including Nolan Ryan of the Texas Rangers and Andre Dawson of the Chicago Cubs, said that several of his clients who played for the Montreal Expos insisted upon having equalization clauses in their contracts. Marx explained that these clauses provided extra compensation to offset Quebec's provincial income taxes, which were deemed to be higher than those of any American state.

Many of the Americans who are moving from Canada to the United States are living in southern Ontario. Ian Smyth, president of the Calgary-based Canadian Professional Association, which represents the country's largest oil and gas producers, says that the lack of energy jobs in the United States is stopping Americans living in Alberta from moving south. Similarly, Albert Baker, an international tax specialist with the accounting firm Stansel, Banks, DeLozier and Tootle in Montreal, says that he is unaware of any exodus of American citizens among his clients. Some have arrangements, he added, that protect them from the full brunt of Canada's tax system.

Some Americans, who are longtime residents of Canada, privately acknowledge that they believe Canada's publicly funded, universally accessible health-care system, and add that they are concerned about having to purchase private health insurance outside of the border. Says the American Club of Toronto's current president, Stanley Kats: "The Kats' move to 'Canada was a great place to live, but with the high tax rate and crowded economic situation, most people would like to leave. If the United States had a health plan like Canada's, we'd probably all be gone." It seems that for many Americans, only Canadian health care and the difficulties of obtaining U.S. accounting or other professional professions are preventing an exodus across the border.

BY ARCY JENISH

PEOPLE

All in the family

Super La Toya Jackson, pop star Michael Jackson's older sister, continues to rock the family bond. *Barley* this month, her sensational autobiography, *La Toya Growing Up* is the Jackson family alleged that her father physically abused his children when they were growing up. And now, finally, she makes her second appear-



Jackson: nude photos and smiles

ance in *Playboy* magazine, with 50 minutes covering her body. Her first nude pictorial, in 1980, originally was widely publicized rift with other members of her family. Her parents, Joseph and Katherine, have disowned the new book, but La Toya, 35, says that she stands by her account. Although she declined to be specific, she said: "There are things in my family which I thought I should be free to talk about that would drive you to that."

A first lady's first love

Jazz great Ella Fitzgerald says that after 60 years of performing, she still becomes very tense before each show. After a recent concert at Toronto's Roy Thomson Hall, her first performance in Canada in three years, Fitzgerald

confided that she was so nervous that her senses started to sear up. Said Fitzgerald: "You couldn't see it, but I could feel it." Still, the 73-year-old singer, long known as "the first lady of song," clearly impressed the sold-out audience, which gave her eight standing ovations. And

Fitzgerald: routine



Best of the bunch

Captain Wayne Gretzky may have got most of the attention because of his injured back, but it was goalie Bill Ranford who, with his hunch, won the most valuable player award last week when Team Canada won the Canada Cup against the United States. Per Ranford, who allowed just 14 goals during the eight-game series, the honor adds to a string of wins, including two Stanley Cups with the Vancouver Oilers. Said Ranford, 34: "It's almost like winning the Stanley Cup. It's a lot of pressure."

Ranford: a new Canada Cup hero

SOME KERNELS OF TRUTH

In the 1980s, influential trend forecaster Faith Popcorn predicted the failure of New Coke, and she applied the term "secession" to the tendency of North Americans to make entertainment centers of their homes. In a new book entitled *The Popcorn Report*, Popcorn (whose real name is Faith Florkin) says that in the 1990s, an aging society of yuppies will become just "red-off elder folk" — 900s. Says Popcorn: "The same baby-boom boom that once said, 'Don't trust anyone over 30,' now says, with equal militance, 'I'm boomer 40!'"

Dream on film

The new Canadian film *Clawfoot*, Pittsburgh director Richard Dugdale's harrowing tale about the clash between nature and white culture, is based on Ontario writer M. T. Kelly's 1992 Governor General's Award-winning novel, *A Dream Like Mine*. Kelly says that he is happy with the result — with one exception. Declined Kelly, 43: "Much of the spirit of my book is in the novel, and in a movie that's a wonderful thing." But he added: "I told the producers, Stephen Roth, that I wish they hadn't changed the title. He answered, 'I hear you M. T., but I don't want you getting up to stir history.'"



Kelly: harrowing clash of cultures

Fitzgerald, who has suffered from respiratory problems since 1965, said that she still looks forward to performing live—despite strict orders from her doctor that limit her appearances to twice a month. Added the performer, who has won 14 Grammys: "I get restless, because I love singing. They can only hold me back so much!"



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Bleak beauty

A movie takes off like a house on fire



Egorov (left), Khaglin: the toast of film festivals in Cannes, Moscow and Toronto

Three years ago, a wind in Victoria burned down his parents' furniture store on New Year's Eve. That was when writer-director Alex Egorov had his first encounter with a fire-movie claimant. "He was a very pleasant, cultured, very thorough," the Toronto-based film-maker recalled last week in an interview. "There is something about the job that's quite obsessive." No stranger to obsession himself, Egorov was sufficiently intrigued by the business of evolving fire damage that he made it the focus of his new movie. *The Adaptor* is a darkly comic drama full of mysterious motives and bleak beauty. Seductive, subversive and disturbing, it has been the toast of film festivals in Cannes, Moscow and Toronto. And for the first time, Egorov, 31, has made a movie that is not only about the subjects, but has a chance of playing there.

Egorov's movies are an acquired taste. But with *The Adaptor*, the film-maker—who was born in Cuba and moved to Canada with his Argentine parents when he was 3—proves that he is the most accomplished Canadian director of his generation. The movie won the award for best Canadian film at Toronto's Festival of Festivals earlier this month. And, at a prestigious Moscow premiere, Egorov turned over the

\$25,000 prize to acolyte director John Puer, 35. Like Egorov's previous work—*Heat of Kin* (1994), *Speaking Parts* (1997) and *Family Planning* (1999)—*The Adaptor* deals with themes of alienation, repression and personality. But it is less hermetic and more compelling. Visually, the movie is mesmerizing. And for once, Egorov elicits strong, automatic performances—in the past, his actors tended to create their own lives as a substitute for a

Kate Kooten portrays Noah, an insurance adjuster who likes to comfort his clients while calculating their losses. A gentle predator, he puts their up in a motel and often sleeps with them. Compulsive sex appears to be his way of making his job more meaningful. Noah's wife, Hedy—portrayed by the director's live-in companion, Annette Khaglin—works as a film censor. Like Noah, she spends her days denigrating and evaluating. And she breaks through the passive repression of her job by secretly spying violent sex films for her sister.

Forming a Canadian couple finally, the adjuster, the censor, their young son and the sister all live together in a model home that sits by itself, surrounded by dirt, in a desolate suburban Noah practices anxiety over the window, using the development's billboards for

targets. Meary Chassis, meanwhile, is delightfully off-kilter as Hedy's, a damaged ex-football player who wants to buy the house as a location for a decadent home movie.

"There are never quite what they seem in Egorov's universe. A house is never just a house. Said Egorov: "I was so amused by the idea of these people, who have bought this model house, then all of a sudden, when did the neighborhood go? What was intended to be a home becomes an archetype—the idea of a house." And the shared trauma of a house destroyed by fire—such is one that Noah views with a lower-class named Annette Bender (Idol)—is more than a black-and-white man. "There's a strong connection to these environments," said Egorov. "You see things so completely stopped here."

The *Adaptor*'s erotic tension is rarely explicit. There is an air of depressive voyeurism and a brief, shocking incident of a man exposing himself. But the camera shows not a glimpse of the pornography that Hedy evaluates. Instead, Egorov creates an Orwellian parody of a censor board. And although much of the house in *The Adaptor* lurks under the surface, there is one heavily fancy scene in which the plastic child censor (David Renshaw) takes a new recruit to recite the movie classification code. "In my films, people have trouble finding words," said the director. "They are most comfortable in *The Adaptor* when they are making lists."

The ambivalence of Egorov's characters, who seem passively uncomfortable with their own existence, creates a palpable tension. That effect is enhanced by a self-conscious directing style that some feel stimulating and others consider pretentious. Egorov, however, says that pretension is "part of my work—my characters are pretending, and that's why drives some people crazy." Added the director: "Some people want to see images of people who have a right to be insecure. They just don't like to feel self-conscious when they're watching a movie, so I can understand that."

For all his conceptual boldness, Egorov is exceptionally proficient in short technical terms. *The Adaptor*, beautifully photographed in widescreen CinemaScope, is a \$1.5-million movie that looks like it cost 10 times as much. Although Egorov clearly has the talent to reach a broader audience than he does now, he seems wary of seeking mainstream appeal. "I could attract a larger audience and elevate the success I've developed," he said. "Or I can continue to do the kind of work that I'm doing—which, when you define it, sounds completely exoteric. And yet," he added, "in *The Adaptor* deconstruction, it's possible to make some sort of comment, just on the basis of the film, say that you're able to communicate as the film-making process—the selective power of the image itself."

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SEAGRAM'S GIN

THEATRE

Pride and remorse

An old woman grieves her way to self-forgiveness

THE STONE ANGEL

Adapted by James W. Michal

Directed by Brian Richmond

Harper Shapley, the most prominent old woman in English Canadian fiction, has taken to the stage. Played by Barbara Chilton, the enigmatic heroine of Margaret Laurence's novel *The Stone Angel* appears to a new theatrical version that opened this summer at Ontario's Eighth Festival and is now running until Oct. 6 at Toronto's Theatre Passe Muraille. Finding a dramatic equivalent for the interior monologue and shifting perspectives of fiction is always difficult. But in adapting *The Stone Angel*, playwright James W. Michal has given Harper a credible second life. It still fails to fully satisfy, the fault is less with Passe Muraille's production than with the novel itself.

The play closely follows the book, which was written in 1964, 22 years before Laurence died. It begins and ends with Harper dying—while she reminisces about her failed life. Harper's problem is that she has too much pride. It has ruined her marriage to Francis (former Steve Shapley [Thomas Haden Church]), destroyed the life of her Toronto son, John (Elliot Smith), whom she scorned to separate from his lover, Ariane (Vilma Peltier). Fortunately, she grows over her errors before she dies and achieves a measure of self-forgiveness.

Director Brian Richmond sensibly manages Harper's movement in and out of her past. Chilton's monologues to girlfriend are particularly affecting. When Harper's father (Alan Williams) punishes her by striking her with a ruler, Harper's critics like to remark: here by her breast but somehow without touching it.

Yet the play cannot escape the pitiful sentimentality of the novel. Most of Laurence's characters are caricatures, and not very original ones. Harper herself is a stereotype of the ranting, adolescent grouch, funnier from overdone personification—in mispronounced, hoarse, by Chilton's brassy-voiced delivery, which glosses over the true tragedy and terror of old age. Despite much excellent acting from the supporting cast, *The Stone Angel* seems naïve and old-fashioned. Although there is human truth at the core of the production, it lacks the biting originality of the best theatre.

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MUSIC

Chords for kids

Great composers come to life for children

Susan Hammond really knows how to drop a note. As the creator of several best-selling recordings designed to introduce children to classical music, the 42-year-old producer has supervised many unusual events in the recording studio—including, recently, the simulated smelting of a Sardinian. The note used was actually a much less expensive candle, and despite being trapped repeatedly onto a wooden stool to get the desired clatter-and-splatter noise, it did not shatter. That sound effect is part of *Viola's*

huge shooting a video version of *Beethoven Lives Upstairs* in Canada and Czechoslovakia—and the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra will present a new concert adaptation based on the same recording on Nov. 23.

A pianist, former music teacher and the married mother of two daughters, aged 9 and 11, Hammond has collaborated with various writers on the recording projects. While these are not classical radio adaptations, as a composer, all four children have a child in the central character. "That child is bewildered



Hammond countering the popular assumption that classical music is childproof

King of Mystery, the latest release from Hammond's Toronto-based company, Classical Kids. Introducing the music of Western composer Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741) with a fictional story about an orphan girl who comes to study with him, the recording contradicts the widely held assumption that serious music is childproof. "Children can like classical music," says Hammond. "We don't have to present it apologetically and we don't have to present it like medicine."

She has plenty of proof to support her claim. Her company's three previous releases—*Mr. Black Comes to Call*, *Beethoven Lives Upstairs* and *Mozart's Magic Fantasy*—have sold more than 30,000 copies each in Canada, and 100,000 U.S. sales each more than 100,000 copies. As well, the *Beethoven* and *Mozart* recordings won Juno Awards in 1989 and 1991, respectively. Now, Hammond and her partners are about to

and then irresistibly pulled into this classical world," Hammond explained. "Children listening will do that as well."

The producer says that conversations with other mothers at a playground led her to enter the children's music business. "At the end of it, mothers came to you if they think you're an expert," recalled Hammond, a friendly, good-humored dynamo. In those days, she was working as a children's piano teacher and an accompanist, and the other mothers wanted advice on buying introductions-to-the-classics albums for young people. "What was out there was didactic and pedantic," said Hammond. "It was information rather than the sort of aspiration that you can get from hearing classical music in the context of a story line." With money from a small advertiser, she decided to see if she could do better herself.

Mr. Black Comes to Call, released in 1988,



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MUSIC

was a promising beginning. In it, a young girl gradually providing the piano gets earlier in personal vignettes when the spirit of Johann Sebastian Bach joins her at the keyboard. It intersperses conversations between Bach and the girl with snippets of his music. But Classical Kids' most talked-about success was its second release, *Beethoven Lives Upstairs*, written by Barbara Nicol. Taking the form of letters exchanged between a Viennese landlord's young son and the boy's uncle, the story begins with the words, "Dear Uncle, something terrible has happened. A musician has moved into our house." Gradually, the boy, Christoph, recognizes the genius as well as the eccentricity of their boarder, Ludwig van Beethoven.

While the earlier recordings take a biographical approach to a composer, *Beethoven's Piano* explores an individual's work, a little girl who is backstage before a performance of *The Magic Flute* suddenly is incorporated into the opera itself. Like all Classical Kids productions, it features freshly recorded musical excerpts tailored to a child-size attention span. Said Hansmired, "To give a child the better experience of a symphony is like saying in a six-year-old, 'OK, we're going to learn to read today—here's *War and Peace*.'"

Vivaldi was in many ways an ideal Classical Kids subject. For most of his life, the composer of *Four Seasons* taught music at the *Prati*, a girls' orphanage in Venice. And as Hansmired points out, his music frequently imitates such easily recognizable sounds as a bird's song or a dog's bark. In *Vivaldi's Ring of Mystery*—like the Mozart recording, it was scripted by Douglas Corling—an upstart violinist named Katarina arrives at the *Prati* as carnival time. There, she gets to know Vivaldi, whose voice is provided by Swedish Festival actor Colin Pease, and his glorious music. Meanwhile, a mystery involving an enigmatic violin leads to a whirlwind tour of the city—and untold secrets of her own past.

For Hansmired, producing a new recording each year has become a full-time job. Her company's cassette and compact discs are also growing reserves in the U.S. market—the *Los Angeles Times* recently called the so-far recordings, each composer's music "bravely alive, de-mythologized and accessible." As well, negotiations are under way to translate Classical Kids products into other languages.

Hansmired points out that children of different ages listen to the recordings on different levels. She added that a very young child may find the sound effects and Vivaldi's references to his students as a "hoax of spaghetti-beans" more memorable than the composer's music. But a five-year-old, the producer said, will concentrate on the story, while a seven-year-old will pick up some of the historical facts. "At the end point," said Hansmired, "I want the tape to fall away and the real music to take over." Like an overture, Classical Kids recordings should whet the appetite for a main course of classical music.

PAMELA YOUNG



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Butting out early

A new film targets teenage girls who smoke

For many teenagers, smoking cigarettes used to be a rite of passage, a way of asserting their independence and spending the transition from youth to adulthood. But it is a ritual in decline. As a result of increased tobacco taxes along with public education campaigns deterring young people to the health risks of smoking, tobacco consumption among teenagers between 15 and 19 has been cut in half—in about 23 per cent of all Canadian teenagers in 1989, the last year for which figures are available, from roughly 45 per cent 11 years earlier. Still, some health officials say that they worry that the rate is declining more slowly among young women than among young men. As a result, Health and Welfare Canada earlier this year commissioned a 30-minute film on the dangers of smoking that is targeted at a young female audience and will be broadcast by CBC TV on Sept. 30. Entitled *Targets of a Tomorrow Smoker*, the film concerns 12 Toronto high-school stu-



Scene from *Diary*: shocking blattness

dents who explain why they started to smoke. Says the film's coproducer and co-writer Daphne Balin, "We wanted to give teenage girls an understanding of why they started to smoke, why they continue and what they have to go through to quit."

In *Diary*, which cost \$500,000 to produce in both English and French, one girl acknowledges that she started smoking "to be a rebel." Another explains, "I kind of got into it to feel accepted." Interspersed among the interviews with the teenagers are shots of a young girl recording her feelings in a diary. "I smoked because it gave me an edge," she writes. "But now I just do it." Says Lowell Blood, adolescent treatment manager at the Nova Scotia Commission on Drug Dependency in Halifax, "Smoking creates the illusion of adulthood or maturity."

According to Balin, the film-makers decided that the way to reach teenage girls was to avoid preaching and to explore the psychological mechanisms involved in smoking. Balin: "Telling them not to smoke is completely counterproductive." Still, the film at times delivers its message with shocking blattness. In one graphic sequence, a girl discovers that by smoking she has unknowingly sealed a deal with the devil, as return for the pleasure of smoking, she risks death from lung cancer and other diseases. Referring to their deal, the devil tells her: "You really should have read the fine print."

NORA UNDERWOOD



Williams (left), Keefe, Bridges, Phoenix: an exaggerated mid-life crisis

FILMS

Love in the gutter

A drunk and a crazy seek redemption

THE FISHER KING

Directed by Terry Gilliam

They are two uncontrollable talents: Robin Williams is the jangling Jack Pink of comedy, a mercurial genius who can be a fine actor when he is kept from baying out of character; Director Terry Gilliam is a talent of surrealistic excess, known for extravaganzas of art direction and special effects. His work ranges from the brilliant satire of *Brazil* (1985), a bawdy joke about bureaucracy, to the rambling fantasy of *The Adventures of Baron Munchausen*, a \$60-million balloon allegory that never took off—it became Hollywood's largest money-loser in 1989. In *Munchausen*, Williams portrayed a hilarious conman as a dishevelled man-in-the-canon. Now he duets the lead with Jeff Bridges as *The Fisher King*, a bawdy movie about two penniless refugees from the 1960s who meet in a suburbanite homebrewed world between the streets of Manhattan.

With *The Fisher King*, American-born Gilliam finally shows that he can deliver a film on time, on budget—and with generous concessions to Hollywood formula. The movie recently won a top prize at the Venice film festival and was voted most popular film by audiences at Toronto's Festival of Festivals. In a hand-applauded scene in Toronto, Gilliam said: "Thank you very much for putting my decision to sell out. The comment may not be entirely accurate: *The Fisher King* is a sprawling compromise of a movie. Giving equal time to both the bawdy and the sentimental, it is a

comedy, a drama, a romance, a fantasy and a morality tale. Apparently, Gilliam could not decide what kind of movie to make—and threw in everything just to be safe.

Jack (Jeff Bridges) is the selfish, smart-aleck host of a radio phantasm in New York—almost identical to the one played by Eric Bogosian in *Talk Radio* (1988). Oliver Stone's movie about a man who provokes psychopaths from the safety of a sound studio. Jack's ego-driven career collects after one of his regular listeners comments from murder and suicide while drinking his name. Turned by grief, Jack quits his job, picks up the bottle and slides into the gutter. There, he meets Parry (Williams), who is in even worse shape. Once a hugely pampered medieval history professor, Parry is now a truly schizophrenic living the life of a homeless man. He is haunted by an event in his past, he suffers terrifying hallucinations of being attacked by a flame-throwing knight on horseback.

Parry, who lives in a basement below room, sees himself as a white knight in the service of God's "blessed little fat people." As he is a quest to capture two elusive prizes: a Holy Grail and a holy girl. The duality of Parry's dreams is Lydia (Ananda Phoenix), an 80-something and vaguely drunk in a company that publishes trashy romance novels. Jack already has a girlfriend, Anne O'Brien (Rae), a well-known singer with a bohemian wardrobe and a heart of gold. Reluctantly, she conspires with Jack in a outbacking intrigue designed to get Parry and Lydia together. As Jack tries to seduce himself by rehabi-

lating Parry, *The Fisher King* becomes the saga of an exaggerated mid-life crisis. The two women serve mainly as accessories. All four actors, however, deliver strong performances, even if they appear to be in different movies. And all the absurdity of fantasy, Bridges acts with intense dramatic realism. His performance is emotionally charged scene with Parry that stands as one of the best movie lovemaking scenes in recent memory. Phoenix, meanwhile, strikes an affecting comic pose as Lydia.

But it is Williams who carries the movie, and Gilliam lets him rip at the lead. One sequence has a manning the apophysis of a splendid bovine movement the next, he is spitting out non-words. "I've got a hard-on for the name of Florida." One evening, Parry drags Jack to Central Park and urges him to take off his clothes, lie on the grass and stomp up at the night sky. "Toss up the little guy and let him fly on the breeze," says Parry, preening around in the male like a New Age guru. The sight of a hairy, burly-chested Robin Williams cavorting naked in Central Park is no peculiar that the genre of it all gets lost.

Gilliam has based the problems of the low-life, the crazy and the homeless in a romantic version of the Manhattan genre. "You had some pretty wonderful things in the trash," says Parry. *The Fisher King* is a pastiche that is a pastiche of a movie that contains some gems and the terrible.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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- 5 *The Doomsday Conspiracy*, Gidycz (3)
- 6 *The Sun of All Men*, Clancy (4)
- 7 *The Dancer*, Joseph (3)
- 8 *Reckless*, Boller (2)
- 9 *The Kitchen God's Wife*, Tan (2)
- 10 *Impressions*, Boller (2)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Mr. Staines of My Life*, Hupkins (2)
- 2 *Real East*, Atwood (2)
- 3 *Writing for the Weekend*, Rybczyk (2)
- 4 *Toujours Presences*, Atwood (2)
- 5 *Overnight*, Underhill (2)
- 6 *How Little We Know*, Atwood (2)
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A mermaid with a theme and a pen

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

From the safety of the southwest Cape Cod cottage on the cliffs, one views with lazy abandon the activity on the Atlantic waters. Sixty-five fish boats move along towards Mianus Bay. In the high chop, a strong young man on a Windward sails far out at astonishing speed. The helix, in the strong wind, chases from the loopy that mark the channel. The white breasts of the sea gulls sit, bobbing, at the waves.

There is observed, in the distance, a movement in the water. A sea? A sea? No, it moves resolutely in a straight line, signifying some confidence—or foolish?—swimmer, moving somewhere closer than the Lucas Stool marked on the navigational chart. It is supposed to swim alone? I guess if you're alone, there's not much choice.

The swimmer moves along in a disciplined stroke, heading for shore, disappears from view beneath the cliff edge and is seen again, climbing the crumbling wooden steps to the cottage. Would she like a glass of wine, lunch just finished? Certainly. This is Judy, who, it turns out, lives in a cottage just further up the slope and is writing a novel. Oh dear.

This would be Martha's Vineyard, the oldest island resort, some half-dozen miles off the Massachusetts coast. It is only natural, being the largest of the Washington and New York literary group, that a swimmer washed ashore is a positive best-seller. Figures.

Martha's Vineyard got its intriguing label in 1669, from one Bartholomew Gosnell, who named it in honor of his baby daughter and the flourishing wild grapes he found on the island. It is just 20 miles long, perhaps 10 miles deep and in late September in the bluest calm is a teeny portion of paradise.

Judy is trying her first novel. After taking in New York publishing houses she figures—as do so many toilers in publishing houses who have seen so many lousy manuscripts—that she can't do worse. She now tells away at her word processor from dawn until she gets tired—and goes swimming.

It is not unusual in Martha's Vineyard in the summer. The permanent population is 12,000,



in summer that swells by 50,000. One of the attractions is the privileged status. At the extreme end is—a 100-yard ferry ride away—the now famous Chappaquiddick Island and Dike Bridge, site of the 1969 auto accident involving one Senator Ted Kennedy and one Mary Jo Superhe.

The lodge, a narrow, discolored little passage even in daylight, has been shut to cars since 1961, deemed unsafe even to pedestrians since 1988. Local authorities only now are negotiating to rebuild it.

At the very opposite end of Martha's Vineyard, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis is negotiating with the town of Gay Head for a \$700,000 property adjoining her 300-acre retreat along the shore of Spaulding Pond.

In between sits naughty author Judy, whose working title for her best-seller in "The All-Vigilante Swamp Bird." The plot of which involves a "young midwestern woman who

moves to New York, meets The Wrong Person, and agrees on The Purpose of Life. She's a musician. Horror and tragedy and great themes. It's supposed to be funny." Good luck. There is enough inspiration just over the next town coast. Norman Mailer takes here. So does licensed print comedian Art Buchwald. Sunday tennis games have Pulitzer Prize winners on the sidelines in doubles matches, waiting for some friendly playmates to appear a fortnight so they can substitute.

Scotty Reston, somewhat a legend in journalism as the longtime New York Times Washington bureau chief and columnist, owns the Vineyard Gazette—Martha's Vineyard Newspaper for 145 years, "which would make it older than Canada. His son is the editor. It is—80 miles from Boston and 150 from New York—devoted to the interests of the six towns on the island of Martha's Vineyard, via Edgartown, Oak Bluffs, Thebury (Vineyard Haven), West Tisbury, Chilmark and Gay Head."

Harrison Bob has finished great swaths of red and white pine. The stone fences fringing some fields are reminiscent of Ireland. The trees leaning over the narrow roads in little paths cover small English lanes. The beaches, bordered by Atlantic waves for centuries, are uniform treasures for bare feet. Martha's Vineyard justifies the name.

The beauty reminds a foreigner, otherwise known as a Canadian, of how crowded countries as cheerful as ours—a wilderness gift taken for granted by citizens of the Great White North of Yore; the title courtesy of Conrad Black's London Daily Telegraph.

Boston and New York and even more patchy Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket are the summer heat. The Canadian has to escape winter chill and to flee south to Florida or Hawaii, the American need is to flee north to their love of snow to escape claustrophobia.

The beach is open, however, and the gaze set, as a matter of fact, towards Ireland. A stamp at the general store costs—would you believe?—25 cents. With Saturday mail delivery. Hello there, Jean Claude Perrot.

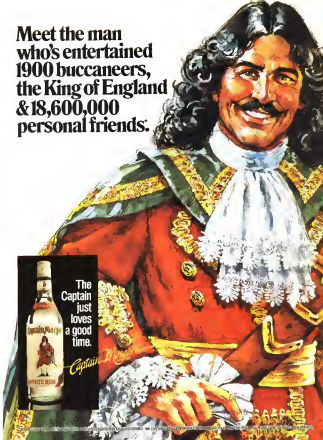
Martha's Vineyard, an island of times frayed by too-talking beachers, in a dream. An island, as we know, is always an open field, with eccentricities—as witness doty Victoria and most all of Vancouver Island, as witness that absolute action of houses called England, not to mention the adjective Wales and Scotland—and we won't even get into Ireland. Where else, on island, would the Venus rising from the waves be a struggling newel?

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